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PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS

VOL. XIII

THIRTEENTH MEETING HELD AT PATNA

December 1930

172050



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
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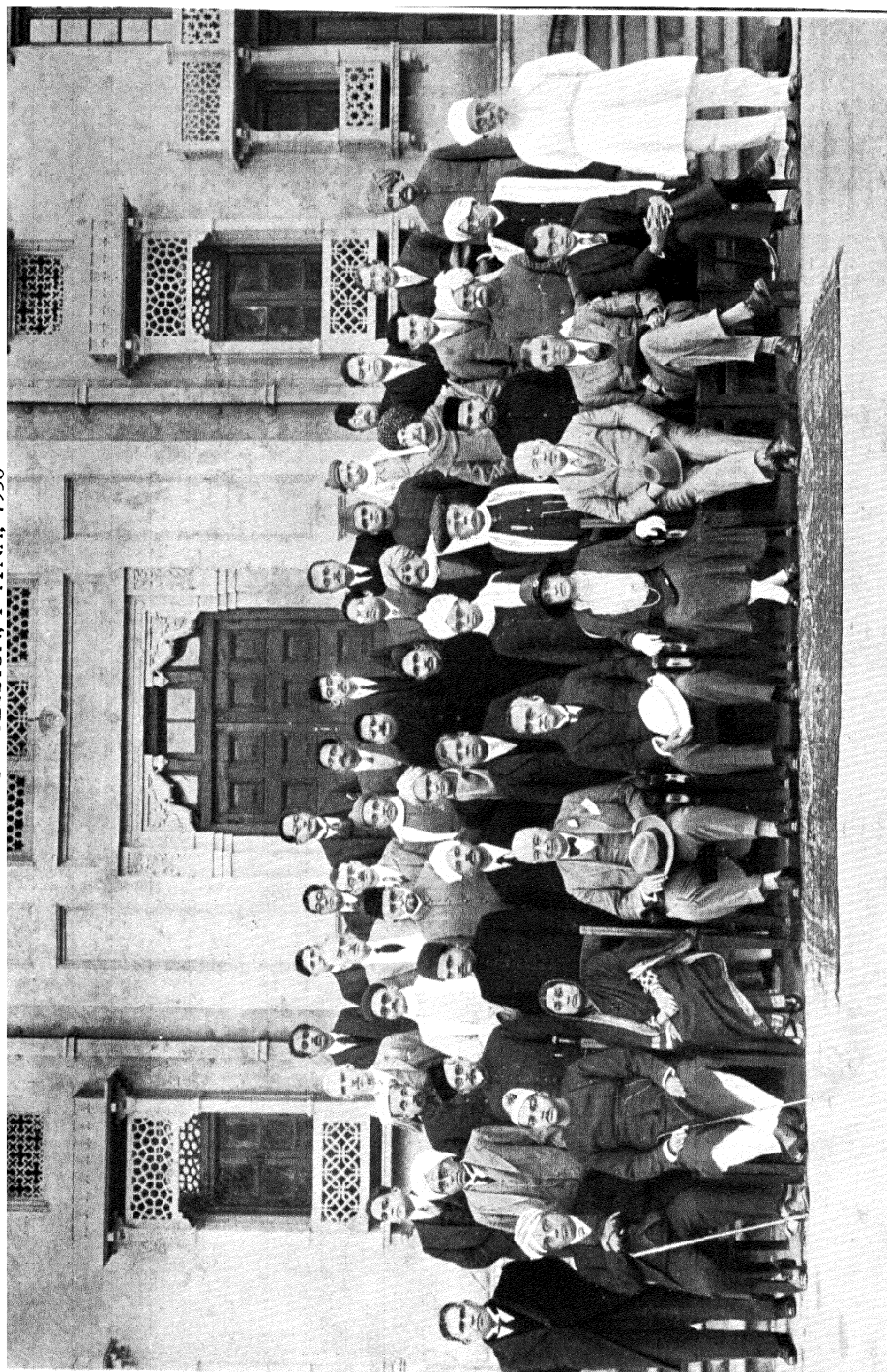
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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

THIRTEENTH SESSION, PATNA, 1930



Seated left to right—Rao Bahadur Dr S K Avangar, Mr A F M Abdul Ali, Mrs Kamala Bai Kibe, His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Lady Stephenson, Mr H. G. Rawlinson, Lt-col H L O Garrett, Dr S N Sen
Standing left to right—1st Row —Mr K P Jaiswal, Dr Balkrishna, Hakim Habibur Rahman, Mr M Mahfuzul Huq, Mr R Subba Rao, Dr R C Majumdar, Mr K A Nilakanta Sastri, Rao Bahadur R Krishnarao Bhonsle, Mr Paramanand, Mr K R B Dargatz, Mr M B Garde, Sir J J Modi
2nd Row —Mr A Ghosh, Sardar Rao Bahadur M V Kibe, Mr D V Potdar, Khan Bahadur D F Vakul, Mr R Satnath Aiyar, Mr Paramananda Acharya, Mr Y K Deshpande, Mr P C Nahar, Mr S C Sarkar
3rd Row —Mr H Lambert, Mr M J Seth, Mr T G P Spear, Mr V V Thakur, Dr R K Mukherji, Mr J C Talukdar, Mr S V Puntarikar, Dr S C Sarkar, Dr Azimuddin Ahmad, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu
4th Row —Mr A B A Haleem, Lala Sitaram Kohli, Mr S K Sen, Mr R P Khosla, Mr K K Basu, Dr J C Sinha, Mr S K Bhuyan, Pandit S. K Oka, Khan Bahadur Abdul Muqtadir.

Proceedings of the Thirteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Patna on the 22nd and 23rd December 1930.

The thirteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at Patna on the 22nd and 23rd December 1930. The public meeting of the Commission was held on the opening day at the Wheeler Senate Hall. An exhibition of documents, seals, coins, paintings and other objects of historical interest obtained from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private individuals in various provinces was held at the Patna Museum in connection with the meeting. The proceedings of the public meeting were opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. Lady Stephenson, Miss Stephenson and a large number of ladies attended the function. In the unavoidable absence of Sir Frank Noyce, Kt, C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt, C.I.E., M.A., presided over the meeting. Representatives of the Governments of the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa and Assam, as well as of several Indian States and Universities attended this session. Among the co-opted members there were many distinguished scholars from different parts of India; two ladies, *viz.*, Mrs Kamalabai Kibe of Indore and Dr Stella Kramrisch of the University of Calcutta, were co-opted following the precedent established at the previous session.

The following members were present —

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt, C.I.E., M.A., Darjeeling
2. Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona
3. Lt-Col H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.
(Also represented the Government of the Punjab)
4. Rao Bahadur Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., (Hony) Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., Madras.
5. Dr Surendra Nath Sen, B.Litt., M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.

(Attended the meeting in place of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, and also represented the Calcutta University).

6. Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ah, F.R.S.L., M.A., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (Secretary).

The following co-opted members, including the representatives of Local Governments, Indian States and Universities, were present:—

1. The Hon'ble Mr Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law, Patna.

(Represented the Government of Bihar and Orissa.)

2. Mr H. Lambert, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Patna College.
 3. Dr Azimuddin Ahmad, Ph.D., Professor of Persian, Patna College.
 4. Dr Subimal Chandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Professor of History, Patna College.
 5. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Abdul Muqtadir, Cataloguer, Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna.
 6. Mr K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law, Patna.
 7. Mr Kamal Krishna Basu, M.A., Professor, Tej Narain Jubilee College, Bhagalpur.
 8. Mr Kali Pada Mitra, M A , B.L., Sahitya Kaustuba, Principal, The Diamond Jubilee College, Monghyr.
 9. Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, M.A., Deputy Prime Minister of the Indore State.

10. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.

11. Mr S. Khursheed Ali, Director, Daftar-i-Diwani and Mal, etc., His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad, Deccan.

12. Mr. K. R. B. Dongrey, Inspector General of Records, Gwalior.

13. Mr M. B. Garde, B.A., Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior.

- 14 Mr V. V. Thakur, B.A., Special Officer, History Department, Indore.

15. Pandit S. K. Oka, Dhar.

16. Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahitya-charyya, Officer-in-charge, Archæological Department, Jodhpur.

17. Mr Paramananda Acharya, Mayurbhanj (Orissa).

} Representatives of
Indian States.

18. Mr K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., University Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University.
19. Mr R. Satianath Aiyar, M.A., Lecturer in History, Annamalai University.
20. Mr S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law, Calcutta University.¹
21. Dr R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Head of the History Department, Dacca University.
22. Mr Sushobhan Chandra Sarkar, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Oxon), Reader in History, Dacca University.
23. Mr R. P. Khosla, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Tej Narain Jubilee College, Bhagalpur, Patna University.
24. Mr Parmanand, M.A., Offg Reader, History Department, Allahabad University.
25. Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Head of the Department of Indian History, Lucknow University
26. Mr S. K. Sen, M.A., Principal, Hindu College, Delhi, Delhi University.
27. Mr S. V. Puntambekar, M.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Professor of History and Politics, Benares Hindu University.
28. Mr A. B. A. Haleem, B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Professor of History, Aligarh Muslim University.
29. Dr Stella Kramrisch, Ph.D., Lecturer in Fine Arts, Calcutta University.
30. Mr Mesrobian J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Professor, Armenian College, Calcutta.
31. Mr M. Mahtuzul Huq, M.A., Lecturer in Arabic and Persian, Presidency College, Calcutta.
32. Mr P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.
33. Mr Ajit Ghosh, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.
34. Dr J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, Dacca University.

} Representatives of
Indian Universities.

¹ Also represented by Dr S. N. Sen as stated above.

35. Hakim Habibur Rahman, Member of the Dacca University Court, Dacca.
36. Rao Bahadur R. Krishnarao Bhonsle, M.R.A.S., Secretary to the Commissioner for Government Examinations, Madras.
37. Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Lecturer in History, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.
38. Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Professor of History, Sir Parashram Bhau College, Poona.
39. Dr Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
40. Mr J. C. Talukdar, M.A., Professor of History, St John's College, Agra.
41. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., Lecturer in History, Government College, Lahore.
42. Mr Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Yeotmal, Berar.
43. Mr S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, and Hony Assistant Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies for the Brahmaputra Valley Division, Assam.
(Represented the Government of Assam.)
44. Mr T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Professor of History, St Stephen's College, Delhi.

The following members of the Commission were absent.—

1. Mr G. T. Boag, I.C.S., Offg Curator, Madras Record Office.
(*Ex-officio*.)
2. Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan, D. Litt., M.A., F.R.Hist.S., M.L.C., Professor of Modern Indian History, University of Allahabad.
(On deputation as a member of the Indian Round Table Conference in London.)

His Excellency the Governor, who arrived at 11-10 a.m., was received at the entrance of the Senate House by the ordinary and local co-opted members of the Commission headed by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and conducted to the dais in a procession. His Excellency then delivered the following address:—

Speech of His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson.

GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad indeed to welcome the Indian Historical Records Commission to Patna for its Thirteenth Session. I will not reproach the Commission for not coming here sooner inasmuch as one of the original objects of the Commission was to advise and stimulate the various Governments in the matter of the historical value of their records and the necessity of properly preserving them and the fact that we come so low down on the list might be

taken as a compliment implying that we need no stimulus though always thankful for advice. But the main reason I take it is that we are a very young Province and that at the time of our creation in 1912 Bengal decided, probably rightly, that there was no justification for breaking up the records of the old Subah of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, though I am not sure that there may not have been an element of the feeling that we were too young to be entrusted with these important matters. It was decided that we should only have the current records and as a working arrangement it was settled that anything before the Mutiny should be regarded as an historical record. For the written official records of our past history we have to go to Calcutta and I should like to bear testimony to the consideration and assistance we invariably receive from the authorities there when we have occasion to consult these records. For Government papers therefore of real antiquity in this Province we can only look to the district record rooms, and I remember that when I was an Under-Secretary in Calcutta, long before the Partition, these district record rooms were fairly thoroughly ransacked and some of their treasures brought to Calcutta for preservation. You will however hear presently from Mr Kamal Krishna Basu a paper on the nature and range of the Bihar and Orissa records, the fruits of an examination conducted by him under the guidance of your President Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Mr Mitra too who has carried on Sir Jadunath's work after he left us is also reading a paper and I will therefore leave this subject to them; if I ventured to touch on it I might trip up and I feel sure that they would be very uncomfortable at having to expose my ignorance.

But a "sarkari hukum" altering the boundaries of a province cannot take away from the people their history. The Commission's main concern is with written documents, but you would be the first to admit that written records do not by themselves carry far the history of a country like India. Comparatively soon we get below the solid foundation of written records and wander in the dim caves where inscriptions, excavations, coins and so forth are our only lights. In this field we claim that we have found much treasure and there are still vast accumulations to reward the patient explorer. Those of you who have attended the Oriental Congress and the Numismatic Society's meetings will know the work that our Research Society and our individual enthusiasts have done and the pride we take in the history of our past. Taking only the comparatively recent period of history there is much to be learnt of historical and human interest from such things as old inscriptions in the Christian burial grounds, the list of which Mr Justice James, one of the corresponding members of the Commission, has undertaken to revise.

But even within your own more particular field I am certain that there is much material outside Government record-rooms which has not yet seen the light of day. The old families of Bihar, the priestly families and the old chieftains of Orissa with their long genealogies rooting far back into the past must, I am sure, have written sanads and other records which have

escaped destruction and are stored away in their archives possibly forgotten even by the family traditions. The main reason for expanding your body from a small Committee of experts to a wider Commission of zealous students of history, with corresponding members, was to endeavour to draw forth historical treasures from their unknown hiding places; and your experience of the past few years has shown that the interest stimulated by your sessions, by the attendance of the public at the reading of fascinating and often romantic stories of history has set those who had hitherto been indifferent, had cared for none of those things, to a search that has produced most valuable finds. From this point of view I specially welcome your presence in Patna under the presidency of Sir Jadunath Sarkar whose consuming zeal is familiar to us and whose advice on historical research at a recent Convocation of the Patna University is still ringing in our ears. I trust that the good seed he sowed will produce its harvest of research workers among graduates and undergraduates and the presence of Mr Khosla as a delegate from the University is a proof that the University's interest and assistance will not fail you. I appeal now to the wider public to help in the work; let those who possess family or State records have them scientifically examined, and submit to experts all documents that may even remotely prove to be of historical interest; and let those who possess none use their influence to rouse their more fortunate brethren. As His Excellency the Viceroy said last year "No nation can afford to ignore the story of its past. No people can properly develop without a knowledge of the factors which have gone to make them what they are." The possessors of these documents are in a sense trustees for the public; the expense of fulfilling their trusteeship is trifling and we have now an ever growing band of research students who will make the labour easy. May the session of the Commission in Patna, which in the matter of historical interest, refuses to yield the palm to any other city, lead to a zealous search for further historical records which I am convinced will be successful.

Reply of Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in thanking His Excellency on behalf of the Commission, said:—

On behalf of the members of the Historical Records Commission I thank Your Excellency for the cordial welcome you have extended to us on our first visit to this province. To my regret, and I am sure, you share my feelings, Sir Frank Noyce, our official President, is unable to attend owing to pressure of public business at Delhi and we have been thus deprived of his experience, suavity and tact in conducting our deliberations. He has conveyed to us his best wishes for our success and interest in our work.

We have long felt that our task would remain incomplete so long as we did not hold a session in Bihar and study the records of a province which yields to none in the importance of the part it has played in shaping India's

destiny from the dawn of recorded history. If I may be permitted to strike a personal note on this occasion, I shall confess that, having been a member of this Commission ever since its foundation, I should have taken it as a great disappointment to me if I did not see my colleagues brought into personal touch with the workers among the records of this province. I owe no small debt to Bihar; I have spent my entire active career, less three years, in this province. I may even claim Patna as my spiritual home. Here I have found opportunities unequalled elsewhere in India, for studying the past history of India at its fountain head. Here I have received a living inspiration from the great monuments of the past all around us. The call to help in arranging and listing the British records of the province came to me so late that I had not half completed the work before I was suddenly removed to another sphere of activity. The history of Bihar and the progress of historical investigation here cannot but be matters of the deepest interest to me, and I am glad to see from the range and quality of the local contribution of papers at this session that the future is full of promise.

This being the first occasion when the local public have seen this Commission, it may not be unnecessary for us to introduce ourselves. This Commission originated in a very small body of official Record Keepers and historical experts formed by the Government of India to advise it and the local Governments as to the best treatment of their records, the proper method of caring for, preserving, weeding out, listing and editing them and deciding the problems that arise from time to time regarding the work of Government Record Offices. But it was soon realised that not all the historical records even of the British period are in Government's hands, but many private persons, specially representatives of historical families, possess documents of first-rate importance, sometimes unique in their nature, for the reconstruction of India's past annals, and that unless these resources are made known and available to scholars it would be as impossible to write a true and full history of India as it would be to write the history of England without using the papers in the possession of the Cecil and Walsingham, Buckingham and Grenville families. Sir Henry Sharp, therefore, planned to interest the outer public in our work and to tempt private records out of their seclusion by adding to our original technical deliberations a public session in which all could join and where papers of general interest would be read to illustrate what records are known to exist and how they throw new light on our country's past. The exhibition has been our most helpful auxiliary for this purpose and in many cases it has made our history live before our eyes once again. This natural endeavour to complete our work found a striking appreciation last year when, for the first time, we met in an Indian State at its invitation. I am glad to have noticed in our sessions as well as in the course of my frequent travels a keen awakening in the Indian States as to the need of exploring the past achievements of their ruling dynasties and the history of their territory by rising above the stage

of legends and bardic eulogies and securing an authentic basis of facts that would be acceptable to historians abroad. Nearly all the great States now send their delegates to our annual meeting. As a life-long student of Indian history, I do hope that the cultural nexus thus begun between British and Indigenous India would be perfected, to the benefit of both sides, by the States organising their record offices on modern lines, arranging and cataloguing their papers, and throwing them open to genuine research workers of all provinces under the safeguards usually observed in the British Record Offices, and that on the other hand Record Officers and research students selected by the Indian States would be given by the British Government in its own archives, opportunities of learning the proper method of handling records and of exploring such records in British possession as relate to the history of their respective States. As an illustration, I may mention that the recent examination of only a portion of the Peshwas' Daftar in Poona has revealed a vast and virgin field for research in which British India and the Deccan States (Hyderabad and Mysore, no less than the Maratha principalities) can most usefully co-operate, for without such co-operation the exploration of such a vast and varied mass of documents cannot be satisfactorily completed within a reasonable length of time, nor can the results of the search be made accessible to scholars. This is a line of operation which this Commission, in the interests of history, may well recommend to the Bombay Government and the States concerned.

In connection with this body of records, the Commission will be glad to learn what the Bombay Government has done during the last twelve months, and I am sure the Commission will join the scholarly world outside in thanking that Government for doing so much. In this year of severe financial stringency and harassing distraction due to organised lawlessness, the Bombay Government has pushed on the exploration and sorting of the Peshwas' Daftar by a competent staff and already issued from these archives four admirably printed volumes containing the Maratha records relating to the Udgir and Panipat campaigns, selections from the Janjira papers and correspondence relating to Anandibai, the wife of Raghunathrao.

The changes in our personnel this year are few. Rao Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has taken the place of Mr G. S. Sardesai, whose three years' term expired last October. We have thus lost the benefit of the ripe experience of this veteran historian of the Marathas who has been working among the Poona records so strenuously and fruitfully. Rao Bahadur Krishnaswami Aiyangar will for the next three years represent Madras, which province had no permanent member since Mr Dodwell left, excepting Mr Julian Cotton for a short time.

We congratulate our energetic Secretary, Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, on the title of Khan Bahadur which has been so deservedly conferred upon him. The cordial thanks of the Commission are due to the Patna Local Committee under Mr Lambert, who have done so much to help our session

and contributed to the comfort of the members and the success of our meeting here.

His Excellency then left the Senate Hall and when the members of the Commission had resumed their seats after taking leave of His Excellency, Sir Jadunath Sarkar was voted to the Chair. Before the business of the meeting commenced the Chairman read the letters which he had received from Sir Frank Noyce, President of the Commission, Shrimanta Sadashiv Rao Khase Sahib Pawar, Home Member to the Gwalior Government, and Mons A. Balasubramaniam Pillai, a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission for Pondicherry, conveying their best wishes for the success of the Patna session. Thereafter the papers or their summaries were read according to the programme of the Commission. Before the conclusion of the meeting Rao Bahadur Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, of Madras, moved a vote of thanks to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and the authorities of the Patna Museum for the assistance rendered by them to the Commission. Mr K. P. Jayaswal, of Patna, moved a vote of thanks to the Chair. Both these motions were carried by acclamation. The meeting lasted till 4 p.m., with an interval for lunch from 1 to 2 p.m.

The Historical Exhibition organised in connection with the Patna session of the Commission was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa at 4-40 p.m. on the same day in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. His Excellency and Lady Stephenson were, on their arrival at the Patna Museum, photographed with the ordinary and co-opted members of the Commission. The members of the Commission were entertained at a tea party in the Museum premises by the Hon'ble Sir Saiyid Muhammad Fakhr-ud-din, Khan Bahadur, Kt, Minister of Education to the Government of Bihar and Orissa. The exhibits, which came from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private individuals belonging to various parts of India, were remarkable both as regards variety and antiquity. These comprised modern state papers of first-rate importance, valuable *farmans*, *sanads*, and other documents of the Mughal and Maratha periods, inscriptions, coins, grants, etc., of the ancient and latter Hindu kings, mediæval weapons, historical paintings, rare books, manuscript works and fine specimens of calligraphy. The Commission was grateful to Dr Azimuddin Ahmad, Ph.D., Dr S. C. Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Mr K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., and Mr H. Askari, M.A., of the staff of the Patna College, for securing a good number of choice exhibits belonging to several public and private collections both in and outside Patna. A complete list of the exhibits will be found in Appendix J.

The Exhibition proved to be a great success and in response to numerous requests from the public it was kept open for a week. A day was specially reserved for Purdah ladies.

On the morning of the 23rd December the members of the Commission inspected the Patna Museum and also visited the Golah, the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, and the site of the Old Dutch Factory. The business meeting of the Commission was held in the committee room of the Patna University Library from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. on the same day. In the afternoon the members of the Commission visited the site of the Old English Factory at Gulzarbagh, the tomb of Nawab Munirud-Daulah, the Cathedral, the cemetery and the houses of Khayali Ram and Ram Narayan. Later they were entertained at an Afternoon Party by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan at his residence to enable them to see the site of the Fort of Sher Shah and to inspect his collection of historical objects. With the assistance of the organisers of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference held at Patna arrangements were made to enable some of the members of the Commission to visit the site of the excavations of the old Buddhist University at Nalanda in the afternoon of the 24th December. Mr H. Lambert, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Patna College, and Local Officer for the Patna Session of the Commission, was good enough to issue *A short Account of Patna*, with notes on the institutions to be visited, for the use of the members of the Commission.

The Patna Massacre of 1763¹.

A Note on the Victims.

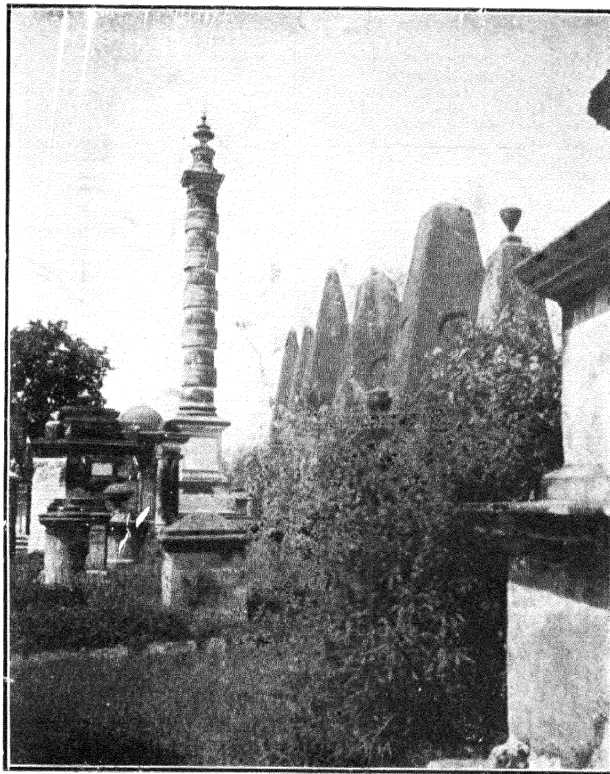
(By Sir Evan Cotton, M.A., C.I.E.)

In a corner of the old Patna cemetery by the city dispensary there stands a pillar upon which are inscribed the names of twenty-eight servants of the East India Company, who were massacred near the spot in October, 1763. The obelisk is said to cover the well into which the bodies were thrown after the first massacre which took place on October 5 in the house of Hajī Ahmād a brother of Ali Verḍī Khan; and it is probable that the dispensary occupies part of the site of the house. The other English prisoners were murdered on October 11 in the Chalis Satun, or hall of forty pillars, behind the Madrasa mosque—a building erected by Prince Azīm-us-Shāh, which has entirely disappeared.

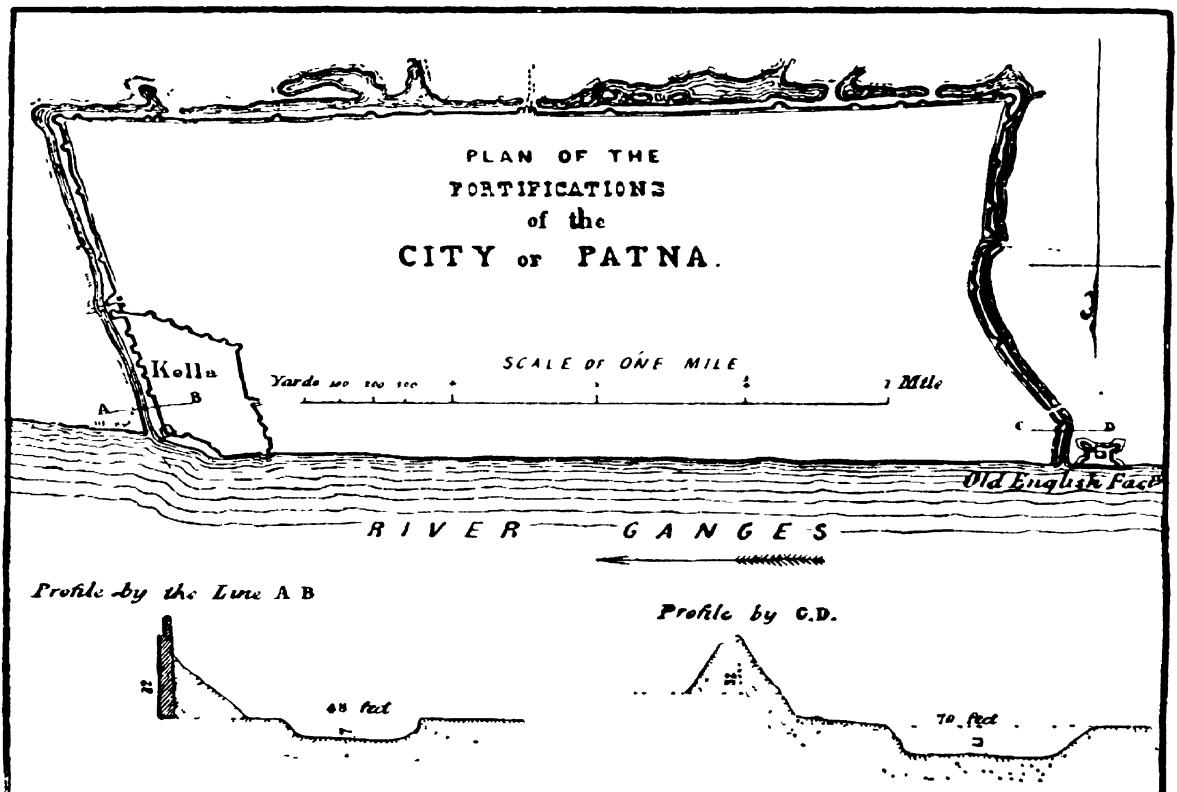
The original pillar was removed in 1880. It was evidently erected very shortly after the massacre, as will appear from the following extract from the Bengal Consultation of June 18, 1764:—

Agreed we write to Patna, desiring they will apply to the Nabob through the Resident at the Durbar to make over to us the House where the massacre was perpetrated and the ground thereto belonging, and having obtained such a grant to have the house entirely demolished and

¹ This paper was considered in paragraph IX of the Proceedings of the Member Meeting, see p. 181 below.



The Memorial Obelisk in Patna Cemetery.



the whole ground railed in in a square in the centre of which the Monument will be erected agreeably to the Plan which we shall send them.

It bore no inscription. James Forbes records in his *Oriental Memoirs* (1813: Vol. IV, p. 90) that on September 22, 1785, he "rode over from Banquepore to Patna to view the monument erected in commemoration of the massacre in the year 1763 ordered by Cossim Ally Khan and executed by Sumnoo" (*sic.*). The monument, he writes, "stands near the house where the cruel deed was committed, and is surrounded by an enclosure which forms the English burying ground". "The building is in good style, but has neither inscription nor any device explanatory of the purpose for which it was erected."

The omission was noticed also by George Forster, a Madras civilian, who visited the place in 1782. He writes^{1(a)}:—

Curiosity and the desire of the moment to indulge a melancholy idea led me to the spot where the English were massacred by order of Cassim Ali. The former buildings are removed, and a well-proportioned monument has been erected in commemoration of that dreadful event, though without any inscription. Perhaps it had been consistent with sounder policy that no such memorial had been fixed; but as it had been judged expedient to record this publicly an act of treacherous cruelty, the cause, I think, should have been explained.

When a new pillar was set up in 1880, during the Lieut Governorship of Sir Ashley Eden, an inscription was added; but it was compiled in the most unintelligent manner. The late Mr Henry Beveridge, who reproduced it in an article written by him for the *Calcutta Review* in January, 1887 (Vol. 84, p. 66), observed with absolute truth that it contained "about as many blunders as it has lines". The names of the military officers were taken, without any sort of enquiry, from Captain Arthur Broome's *History and Progress of the Bengal Army* (London, 1850, pp. 365-366), which as will presently be shown, is quite unreliable; a mythical individual of the name of Kelley was included among the civil servants; and the date of the tragedy was given as November 5, 1763. As the result, let us hope, of Mr. Beveridge's protest, a species of "revision" was undertaken, and some of the grosser and more glaring errors have been corrected. Inaccuracies, however, still abound; and it is the object of the present paper to point them out.

The existing inscription, as transcribed by the Rev. H. F. Fulford Williams, when Chaplain of Patna in 1923, reads as follows²:—

In Memory of / Captain John Kinch; / First Lieutenants Richard Perry and George Hockler; / Lieutenant-Fireworkers John Brown, Ardean Deckers, John Read, and Benjamin Adamson, / of the Hon'ble

^{1(a)} *Journey from Bengal to England* (2 vols., London, 1798 Vol. 1, p. 25). The original edition of this book was published at Calcutta in 1790. Forster died on February 6, 1791, at Nagpur, where he was British Resident.

² See *Bengal: Past and Present*: Vol. XXVIII, p. 56.

East India Company's Artillery; / Captains Charles Ernest Joecher, / Henry Sommers, James Tabby, and George Wilson; / Lieutenants Richard Holland, George Alston, and Sir William Hope, Baronet; / Ensigns John Greentree, Robert Roberts, Duncan Macleod, / William Crawford, William Hincles, Isaac Humphries, / John Robert Roach, John Perry, and Walter Mackay, of the Hon'ble East India Company's Infantry; Doctors Campbell and Anderson; / Messrs. Hay, Ellis, and Lushington, servants of the Hon'ble East India Co., / who / with many other captives, / were / on the nights of the fifth or sixth and the eleventh of October 1763, / brutally massacred near this spot / by the troops of Mir Kasim, / Nawab Subadar of Bengal, / under command of / Walter Reinhardt, alias Samru, / a base renegade. / E dedecore hostium nata est gloria eorum.³

The names of the military officers are taken as before, with a few alterations, from Broome: and the reason for the choice of this work is as difficult to understand as the method of selection. Broome nowhere states that the persons he enumerates were massacred at Patna. He writes (p. 365):—

The officers and gentlemen of the (Patna) factory, and the whole of the English troops, were made prisoners (at Manjhi on the river Gogra, some miles west of Chapra, on July 1) and carried to Patna, where they were afterwards cruelly massacred; Dr Fullarton and 4 Serjeants alone escaping out of the whole party. Judging from two official returns of the force shortly prior to its destruction, it appears that nearly 300 Europeans and upwards of 2,500 Natives must have been killed or surrendered on this occasion, and that 7 officers of Artillery and 29 officers of Infantry were slain on the field, died of their wounds, or were made prisoners and subsequently perished. It is now (1850) impossible to trace out the names of all those that were involved in this misfortune, but after a long and diligent search, the following have been discovered with tolerable certainty. Of the Artillery Captain John Kinch; 1st Lieutenants George F. Hockler and Richard Perry, Lieutenant Fireworkers John Brown, Ardean Deckers, John Read, and Benjamin Adamson;—one of the First Lieutenants appears to have been Adjutant and the other Commissary of Ordnance. Of the Infantry, Captains Peter Carstairs, Charles Ernest Joecher, Ambrose Perry, Henry Sommers, James Tabby, William Turner, and George Wilson, Lieutenants John Downie, Richard Holland, Maurice Roach, George Alston, and Sir William Hope; Ensigns John Greentree, Robert Roberts, Duncan Macleod, William Crawford, William Hincles, Isaac Humphries, John Robert Roach, John Perry, Walter Mackay, and Dr. Anderson.

Although Broome states that "7 officers of Artillery and 29 officers of Infantry were slain on the field, died of their wounds, or were made prisoners and subsequently perished," he names seven Artillery officers and only twenty-

³ Dr. C. R. Wilson in *Bengal Monumental Inscriptions* (p. 217), while professing to give a transcript of the inscription, omits the names of Kinch and "Hockler".

one Infantry officers⁴ It is clear that he intended to give a list of the military officers who were, as far as he was able to ascertain, detailed for duty with the Patna detachment; for he includes the names of four persons—Captain Peter Carstairs, Captain Ambrose Perry, Captain William Turner, and Lieutenant John Downie—who were most certainly not among the victims of Sumroo, and are now omitted from the inscription. A little more care and some research might have prevented the appearance of other names. Again, Broome who was concerned with the Bengal Army alone, does not trouble to record the names of the civil servants: and three only, Ellis, Hay and Lushington, whom he casually mentions, have been considered worthy of remembrance.

Colonel Innes in his *History of the Bengal European Regiment* (1885; p. 169) and General Stubbs in his *History of the Bengal Artillery* (1877; Vol. I, p. 25) merely borrow from Broome. Capt. S. McCance in his newly-published *History of the Royal Munster Fusiliers* (Vol. I, p. 48) takes Broome's list of infantry lieutenants and ensigns and includes Capt. Carstairs and Capt. Ambrose Perry with Capt. Joecher and Capt. Somers among the massacred, but does not state his authority for so doing. Capt. John Williams in his *History of the Bengal Infantry* (1817) gives no list of the officers massacred. He writes (p. 127): "All the gentlemen of the civil service, with the officers and men in confinement, were slaughtered; and it is reported that most of them sold their lives very dearly"; and in Appendix A he prints a "List of Officers of the Bengal Army in the year 1760". Broome is, therefore, of no value as a primary authority; and there is nothing to be gleaned from the others.

It so happens, however, that there are at least three manuscript lists at the India Office, which are of contemporary date. The first of these is bound up in the volume of Bengal Baptisms, Marriages and Burials for the years 1755 to 1783 (pp. 101-103) and was used by Major Hodson for his *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army* (Vol. I, 1927: Vol. II, 1928). It is headed "List of Persons who suffered in the Massacre at Patna and at other Places during the Troubles:" and at the end are the words: "A True List. Jo. Graham, Secretary, Fort William, the 20th February 1764". There can be no doubt that it is the official list. The other two are in the Orme Mss. (No. 21 Bengal, 1759-1763: pp. 129, 133) and may be found at the end of the transcript made for Orme of Dr. Fullarton's narrative. Of these the first, which is entitled "List of the Unhappy Sufferers", is evidently Fullarton's own list. It is very detailed but concludes with the words: "This list is

⁴ In a footnote on page 366 Broome states that his list is "compiled from various sources, the most important of which is the Bengal General Military Register". This work was published in Calcutta in 1795, "demy paper in folio: price to subscribers one gold mohur: to non-subscribers twenty rupees" (Seton-Karr, *Selections*, Vol. II, p. 592): but I have not been able to discover a copy. A second volume, which covers the period from 1795 to 1810, is preserved among the Military Records at the India Office; but the earlier volume, which begins with the year 1760, is missing. Judging from the contents of the second volume, it would seem that it was used by Dodwell and Miles as the basis of their "Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Bengal Army . . . from the year 1760 to the year 1834 inclusive, corrected to September 30, 1837" (London, 1838). And in order to avoid repetition, it may be as well to state here that many of the names mentioned by Broome are not to be found in Dodwell and Miles.

deficient in the number of the unhappy sufferers for want of more particular advices". The other, which is copied in a very schoolboyish handwriting, is headed "A List of the Gentlemen who were killed in Engagements and massacred at Patna during the Troubles in 1763". It contains the names of 20 Company's servants, 37 officers, 5 surgeons, and 10 "free merchants": and at the end are the words: "In all 72: soldiers about 120: total 192". There are several repetitions in this list. The official list gives the names of 19 covenanted civil servants, 32 military officers, 3 surgeons and 11 private merchants (including Dr. Peter Campbell): or 65 persons in all, of whom 51 are entered as killed in the massacre at Patna⁵. Dr. Fullarton's list also contains 65 names. The three lists are given in full at the conclusion of this paper. Various names (chiefly of civil servants) are also to be found in the volume of Bengal Letters for the year 1763. On September 29, the Council at Fort William write:—

Mr. Charles Bennet was made prisoner at Bauleah and sent to Mongheer.

At Cossimbazar were taken Messrs. Chambers, Lyon, Oakes, Eyton, Round, Croke, Mr. Ham Surgeon, Mr. Lake, Commissary to the troops at Patna on his way thither, Messrs. William Stewart and Benjamin Spinner, officers there for the recovery of their health.

Of the Patna Factory: Messrs. Ellis, Lushington, Howitt, Smith and Collings.

In the second of two letters dated December 29, the following are mentioned: Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, Hay, of Council; Chambers, Lushington, Howitt, Senior Servants; Lyon, Oakes, Smith, Amphlett, Bennet, Wollaston, Factors; Gulston, Eyton, Lake, Hutchinson, Round, Collings, Croke, Writers; Croke, one of the head surgeons at Calcutta, Ham, surgeon at Cossimbazar—"also 23 officers belonging to the Patna detachment and Mr. Amyatt's party cut off".

The names of seventeen civil servants are given in Bengal Consultation of October 31, 1763:—

There is the greatest reason to believe that the undermentioned Gentlemen have lost their lives in the cruel massacre perpetrated at Patna, viz., Messrs. Ellis, Hay and Chambers, of Council, Lushington, Howitt, Lyon, Smith, Amphlett, Bennett, Woolaston, Gulston, Eyton, Lake, Hutchinson, Round, Collings and Croke.

It will be noticed that Dr. Anderson is not mentioned among the medical men.

In addition to the three lists, which must clearly rank as primary authorities, there are the following three contemporary narratives: (1) the diary of Dr. William Anderson, Surgeon to the Patna detachment, which

⁵ The official list appears to be identical with the list reproduced on page 71 of Dr. W. K. Firminger's *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna* (Calcutta Historical Society, 1909): but the order of the names has been altered and no clue is given as to the source from which the list is taken. It is also printed by Beveridge (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. 84, pp. 68-69).

covers the period from June 23 to October 6, 1763, (2) the journal of Dr. Peter Campbell, who had come out as a surgeon on an Indiaman, and was engaged in private trade at Patna; this begins on June 23 and ends on August 16; (3) the report presented to the Council at Fort William by Dr. William Fullarton, Surgeon to the Patna Agency, and "received and read" on December 19, 1763; the last entry, which is dated October 15, describes his escape. Both Campbell and Anderson were killed on October 11. Attested copies of these documents are preserved among the "Foreign Miscellaneous" papers in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta⁶; and also at the India Office (Patna Factory Records, Vol. 18). The fate of the originals has not been ascertained. All three narratives have been printed by Dr. W. K. Firminger (*The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna, 1763*: Calcutta Historical Society, 1909); and also by the late Mr. Henry Beveridge (Anderson's Diary, *Calcutta Review*, October 1884, Vol. 79, pp. 338—362; Campbell's Journal and Fullarton's Report, *Calcutta Review*, January, 1887, Vol. 84, pp. 44—70), and by Talboys Wheeler in his "Memorandum on the Records in the Foreign Department" (Calcutta, 1865). A few extracts are given by Wheeler in his *Early Records of British India* (1878, pp. 318—328); and a list of 51 victims is supplied which agrees with the official list.

Of Anderson's journal I have traced at least three other copies. One is in Home Ser., Misc., Vol. 456d at the India Office. The following is written on the flyleaf: "This volume I believe to have belonged to my great grandfather Sir Francis Baring when he was Chairman of the East India Company⁷; Northbrook, March 28, 1892". Pages 1 to 80 are occupied by a "Copy of the Journal of the late Mr William Anderson, Surgeon at Patna, containing an Account of the massacre of the English at that Factory in 1763, communicated to Mr. Bruce⁸ by John Davidson, Esq., of Restalrig, near Edinburgh, March 19, 1792". On pp. 81-83 is a "Copy of letter from Mr. William Anderson, Surgeon to the Detachment at Patna, under command of Mr. Peter Carstairs, to Mr. John Davidson, Surgeon at Chatigaon, Bengal; Patna, 6th October, 1763"⁹. Another copy of Anderson's narrative is

⁶ Cf. Beng. Cons., December 19, 1763 Present Henry Van Sittart, Esq., President, John Carnac, Esq., William Billers, Esq., Warren Hastings, Esq., Randolph Marriott, Esq., Ascanius William Senior, Esq., John Burdett, Esq., Mr. Hugh Watts, indisposed: Received a letter from Mr. William Fullarton, at Patna dated the 9th Instant, accompanying a Narrative of the Proceedings at Patna from the time of the Attack on the City to that of his making his escape. The same having been laid before the Board: Ordered that it be entered in a book along with the other Journals and that a copy of it be immediately taken to send home in the Osterley's Packet

⁷ Sir Francis Baring was a Director of the Company from 1779 until his death in 1810, and was Chairman in 1792.

⁸ John Bruce (1745-1826) Historiographer at the India House

⁹ Dr. Norman Chevers in an article on Surgeons in India published in the *Calcutta Review* in July 1854 (Vol. XXIII, p. 235) gives the text of this letter: and it is to a mistake in the transcription that the absurd inclusion in the original inscription of a civil servant named Kelley appears to be due. Anderson is made to write: "Sumroo with the sepoys arrived here last night and I suppose, to effect his wicked designs: for last night Mr. Kelley and forty-three gentlemen with him were massacred, and as about an equal number of soldiers and us yet remain, I expect my fate this night". The name should, of course, be Ellis. There is another letter from Anderson to Davidson, dated Patna, August 26, 1763, in the same volume (Home Ser., Misc., 456d) at the India Office. It deals almost entirely with private matters.

reproduced in the Swinton Family Records (privately printed, 1908: pp. 57—82). Both this, and a copy of Fullarton's report, are preserved among the papers of Capt. Archibald Swinton, who was serving with Major Adams' force in command of the Soolteen-ka-paltan, a sepoy battalion raised by him in 1763, which became the 3rd Bengal Infantry in 1824. He was wounded in the left hand at the siege of Monghyr and lost his right arm at the capture of Patna on November 6, 1763.

The third copy of Anderson's journal is in the Hastings Mss. at the British Museum (Addl. Mss. 29, 209, fol. 114—127). It was discovered by Mr. Beveridge in 1876 and used by him for his first article in the *Calcutta Review*. The transcription is faulty in several places. On the reverse of the last page is a note, possibly in the handwriting of Hastings: "this is written by a medical gentleman, not Fullarton".

The despatch of copies of the three narratives to the Court of Directors in London is mentioned in a letter from the Council at Fort William dated December 19, 1763.—

Among some other papers preserved in the Dutch Factory (at Patna) and since transmitted to Calcutta we found two journals kept by Messrs. Peter Campbell and William Anderson, two of the gentlemen who were taken at Patna and who suffered with the Rest. As every circumstance is interesting in a Calamity like this we have sent you in this Packet copies of these Journals as well as Dr. Fullarton's narrative.

Mention must also be made of "An Account of our Party at Patna attacking the City, the 25th June, 1763," which is to be found in the Swinton Family Records (pp. 48—57), and which was reproduced in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1926 (Vol. XXXI, pp. 157—162). It is clear from internal evidence that it was written by Ensign Hugh M'Kay, one of the seven prisoners murdered in the Chalis Satun. The narrative ends on July 12, when he and his companions were removed from Monghyr to Patna.

I have carefully collated the three lists and subjoin a list of the following fifty-two victims of the massacre.

The great majority of the names are common to all.—

Civil Servants: Patna Party: William Ellis, Esq., Chief, Mr. Henry Lushington, second, Mr. Samuel Howitt, third, Mr. William Smith, fourth, Mr. Marmaduke Collings, Assistant, Mr. William Lake, commissary to the army at Patna. Cossimbazar Party: Mr. John Chambers, second, the Hon'ble James Philip Lyon, third, Mr. Edward Oakes, fourth, Mr. Charles Bennett, Mr. William Eyton, Mr. William Round, Mr. Edward Croke, assistants.

Members of Mr. Amyatt's Mission: William Hay, Esq., Eleventh at the Board at Calcutta, Mr. Thomas Amphlett, appointed Resident at the Durbar, Mr. Edward Gulston, Persian Translator, Mr. Henry Hutchinson, assistant to Mr. Amphlett. Total 17¹⁰.

¹⁰ Another name, that of Bernard Townshend, is given in the third list only.

Military Officers: Patna party: of the Artillery Captain John Kinch, commandant, Lieut. Fireworkers Philip Hamilton, Richard Parry and John Bowen; of the Infantry Cpts. Charles Ernest Joecher, William James Tabby, George Wilson, Henry Summers, Lieuts, Sir William Hope, Bart., Maurice Roach, Richard Hollond, William Stewart, Benjamin Spinner (Spooners in third list: not in Dr. Fullarton's list), John Perry or Parry (Lieut. in the official list, Ensign in Dr. Fullarton's list not in the third list); Ensigns John Blewitt, John Armstrong, Hugh M'Kay, John Greentree, Duncan McLeod, William Crawford, and Samuel Blewitt.

Mr. Amyatt's Mission: Lieuts. John Gordon and James Jones. Total 23¹¹.

Surgeons: Mr. William Anderson, surgeon to the army at Patna, Mr. Clement Crooke, surgeon with Mr. Amyatt's Mission (not among the massacred in Dr. Fullarton's list: see below), Mr. Peter Campbell, "late Surgeon to one of the Indiamen" and a "free merchant". Total 3.

Dr. Fullarton mentions two others: Dr. Haslam, "formerly in the King's Train at Bombay" who is identical with Mr. Harling "free merchant," and Dr. Smith, "a Swiss," of whom nothing is known.

Free Merchants or Agents: Mr. John Howitt, brother to Mr. Samuel Howitt, Capt. John Johnstone, Capt. James Albright (Allwright in Dr. Fullarton's list and the third list), Capt. John Harris, Mr. Place, Mr. Folliot, "son of General Folliot", Mr. West (not in Dr. Fullarton's list), Mr. Henry Harling ("free merchant" in official list; "surgeon" in the third list; "Dr. Haslam" in Dr. Fullarton's list). Total 8.

A ninth "Mr. Thompson, agent to Mr. McGuire," can be added with some certainty on the authority of the narratives, although his name appears only in Dr. Fullarton's list¹². Two other agents who are stated in the official list to have been "killed at Rungpore," are included in the third list among the massacred—Mr. Andrews¹³ and Mr. Burslem; neither of them are in Dr. Fullarton's list. The third list names a "Mr Harney" among the massacred.

¹¹ Ensign Crooke and Lieut. John Treadwell are included among the massacred in the third list only. The former is a repetition of Edward Croke, civil servant: for Treadwell, see note (15).

¹² On August 8 Dr. Peter Campbell records in his narrative that 23 persons, "all in irons" are being sent up to Patna from Monghyr; "they were taken at Cossimbazar amongst whom are Mr. Bennett and one Thompson, who was in Mr. McGuire's employ". On August 9 Dr. Anderson's narrative mentions the receipt of "a chit from one Mr. Bennett, Company's factor at Brampore (Berhampore) and also from Mr. Thomson agent for McGuire," who were apparently on their way to Patna; "they were taken prisoners and sent with about 20 common soldiers; are in great distress, wanting every necessary; we sent them Rs. 20 for the present". On August 11, "Messrs. Bennett and Thompson were brought here [to the Chalisatoon] to be confined along with us" [Campbell: there is a similar entry in Anderson's narrative]

¹³ In Ensign M'Kay's narrative (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXI, p. 161) there is the following entry on July 9, 1763, made at Monghyr: "Received a chit from Capt. Harris who informed us that they were allowed half a seer of course rice a man

In a letter of November 25, 1763, to the Council at Fort Saint George (Madras Military Consultation, January 8, 1764), the Council at Fort William say that all the privates, as well as the officers had been murdered: and Major Adams in a letter which appears to have been written after the capture of Patna on Nov. 6 states that "all the private men were killed sixty at a time and this bloody-minded villain Samru went so far as to put to death a young child of Mr. Ellis"¹⁴. The number of European soldiers murdered is given in the third list as 120. According to the return of the force at Patna under Captain Carstairs (April 30, 1763) printed in Broome (Appendix R.) the Europeans consisted of 17 infantry officers and 220 non-commissioned officers and men, and 7 artillery officers and 57 non-commissioned officers and men. Major John Grant^{14a} in his staff journal (Orme Mss. O. V. IV) mentions the receipt by Adams of a letter dated Patna, July 27 and 29, which is signed by Capt. George Wilson (one of the captives in the Chalis Satun) but which appears from internal evidence to have been written by Campbell. The postscript opens with these words: "There is about 100 Europeans taken service with His Excellency but declare they will take the first opportunity of leaving it".

According to Dr. Fullarton's narrative, the party confined in the Chalis Satun was composed of Capt. Wilson, Lieut. Armstrong, Ensign M'Kay, Mr. Anderson, Surgeon, Mr. Peter Campbell, "and two soldiers". Anderson states, however, that the two soldiers were left behind when they were finally lodged on July 22 in the Chalis Satun which both he and Campbell describe as "the prison for state prisoners"; and he mentions also that Bennett and Thompson were brought in by the Nawab himself on August 11. Fullarton in his entry of October 7 distinctly refers to seven captives: "I applied to Mindialy Cawn for his interest on behalf of the gentlemen in the Chaalsatun, who were seven in number and were not killed till the 11th October; but when he was petitioned about them, he gave no answer but sent orders to Sumro to cut them off".

Dr. Clement Crooke, one of the head surgeons at Calcutta who was attached to Amyatt's mission, is stated in Dr. Fullarton's list to have been "dangerously wounded in the head by the Nabob's people with Mr. Amyatt near

and that he was prisoner with three more whose names are as follows: Captain Johnson, Captain Place, Serjt. (sic.) Anderewes". There is a similar entry in Dr. Anderson's journal, July 10 "A servant of Mr. Place's brought us a chit giving us an account of Messrs. Johnston and Harris with two other Europeans more belonging to the boats with arms, which the Nabob stopped, being close prisoners and having only $\frac{1}{2}$ a seer of coarse rice per day each for their subsistence . . . They had surrendered themselves at Patna to Mr. Marcatt (an Armenian) who finding them merchants gave them leave to go down but they found it impossible to pass the chokie boats at Mongheer". On July 11 Dr. Campbell writes: "In the afternoon we received a chit from Harris and Johnstone acquainting us that they were confined in the Fort at Monghyr in a dirty house and very indifferently treated".

¹⁴ This letter is not in the volume of Bengal Consultations for 1763 but see Philippart's *East India Military Calendar* (1824), Vol. II, p. 81.

^{14a} For an account of Major John Grant, who was staff officer to Major Adams, see the article "A Nabob and His Friends" in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp 119-127. The journal has not yet been printed

Cossimbazar and its said died a few days afterwards"; but in the official list and in the third list he is entered among the victims of the massacre.

Dr. Henry Harling had, like Peter Campbell, come out to India as surgeon on an Indiaman and was carrying on private trade in Bengal as a free merchant. His career has been traced by Col. D. G. Crawford in his *History of the Indian Medical Service* (1914: Vol. I, p. 189). In the Bombay Consultation of August 29, 1756, mention is made of a dispute between the Custom Master and Lieut. Henry Harling of the King's Train (thus connecting him with Fullarton's Dr. Haslam, formerly of the King's Train in Bombay). It is not known how he found his way to Bengal, but he is said to have "absconded to the Morattoes" from Bombay. There is a reference in the Bengal Consultation of April 30, 1764, to the estate of the late Dr. Henry Harling which included a house at Kalkapur, the Dutch factory at Murshidabad.

Dr. Fullarton in his list mentions another "free merchant": a certain "Mr. Felix Milner on his way up to Patna, supposed to be either drowned or being attacked in his Budgerow on the great River by the Nabob's people, or else carried prisoner to the Nabob and afterwards massacred". His name does not occur in the other lists.

Mr. Ham, surgeon to the Cossimbazar factory, is stated in all three lists to have "died while prisoner with the Nabob at Monghear". Capt. William Turner also died at Monghyr "of a flux". This is confirmed by all the lists.

The following were killed at the battle of Manjhi on July 1: Capt. Peter Carstairs (mortally wounded and died on July 3), Ensign Cornelius Kraft and Lieut. Thomas Pickering. The last two are placed among the massacred in Dr. Fullarton's list: but this is clearly an error, for both Anderson and Campbell in their narratives state that Pickering and "Crofts" were either killed or drowned on July 1, and Fullarton himself in his report says that they were killed on that day.

In the assault on Patna on June 25, the following were killed: Capt. Ambrose Perry, Lieut. John Downey, Lieut. John McDowell, and Lieut.—Fireworker John Reid. To these Dr. Fullarton in his list adds Capt. John Treadwell, whose name is omitted altogether from the official list (unless the repetition of Capt. Wilson's name is a slip for his) and who appears in the third list among the massacred as Lieut. Tradwell¹⁵. Read or Reid, who is described as Ensign in the third list, is not named in Dr. Fullarton's list. Downey or Downie is stated by Dr. Fullarton in his list to have been "killed

¹⁵ Treadwell was most probably a Capt.-Lieut. (senior Subaltern). Major Hodson informs me that his will was proved at Calcutta on August 14, 1764. According to the monthly return of the Hon'ble Company's Troops at Patna under the command of Capt. Peter Carstairs, dated April 30, 1763, (Broome, p. XXXVI, App. R) there were eight capt. with the detachment. The company commanders of the Europeans were Capts. Carstairs, Joecher, Ambrose Perry, & Summers: Capt. John Kinch was in command of the artillery and the sepoy battalions, the 2nd, 3rd and 5th, were commanded by Capts. Tabby, Turner and Wilson.

at the gate when the enemy entered and retook Patna": in the other lists he is said to have been "killed in the assault". In the narratives of Fullarton, Campbell, Anderson and M'Kay the names of the killed are given as Capt. Parry, Lieut. Downey, Lieut. McDowell and Artillery Lieut. Reid. Treadwell is not mentioned.

As regards Mr. Amyatt's mission, Broome writes (p. 361): "Mr. Amyatt, with Messrs. Amphlett, Woolaston, Hutchinson, Lieuts. Jones, Gordon, Cooper, and Dr. Crooke, were permitted to depart from Monghyr on the 23rd June, Messrs. Hay and Gulston being detained as hostages". The budgerows in which the party were travelling were attacked near Murshidabad on July 3. Amyatt, Woolaston (his brother-in-law) and Lieut. (or Ensign) John Cooper were killed: and the remainder were eventually brought back to Monghyr. Anderson writes on August 6: "Mr. Roach's boy arrived from Mongheer, bringing news of Mr. Amyatt's head being brought there some time ago". On August 11, he wrote that "Messrs. Bennett and Thompson gave us an account of Mr. Amyatt and Ensign Cooper being killed at Muxadabad The other gentlemen they could give no account of, but expect they were sent to Mongheer, with Mr. Chambers and the others from Cossimbazar." Woolaston is, however, stated in the official list to have been "killed at Muxadavad", and in Dr. Fullarton's list to have been "killed by the Nabob's people with Mr. Amyatt near Cossimbazar".

It will be seen that, even in its present form, the inscription is open to grave objection on the score of accuracy. The following corrections and omissions are required.

First Lieutenant Richard Perry.—The three primary authorities spell his surname "Parry". He was undoubtedly an artillery officer and a Lieutenant-Fireworker. Dr. Fullarton's mention of a Lieut. Richard Parry as having been killed in the assault of Patna on June 25 is unsupported by the other two lists, and in the narratives of Campbell, Anderson and Fullarton himself, and also in M'Kay's journal, it is stated that Lieut. Richard Perry was among the wounded on that occasion. He was certainly one of the victims of the massacre.

First Lieutenant George Hockler.—No Bengal officer of the name can be discovered in contemporary records. But there was a Lieutenant George Frederick Koehler who was serving with Major Adam's force and is the "Lieut. G. F. Kaylor" mentioned by Broome as having been killed at the battle of Gheria on August 2, 1763. Major John Grant in his staff journal (Orme Mss. O. V. IV, p. 19) spells the name "Killer". Major Hodson has ascertained (Vol. II, p. 611) that Koehler was a native of Frankfort and was a corporal in Captain Thomas Smith's company of the Royal Artillery when he was given a cadetship in May 1758. He sailed for India in the *Bombay Castle* in that year and was then aged 27. On October 16, 1761, he was promoted to second lieutenant. There is not an atom of evidence for including Koehler or any one of the name of Hockler among the victims of the Patna massacre.

Lieutenant-Fireworker John Brown.—The name of this officer occurs in the third of the contemporary lists: but he is probably identical with the Artillery Lieutenant John Bowen who is mentioned in all three lists, and the appearance of both the names (Bowen and Brown) in the third list may be put down to a slip of the pen in copying. Dr. Fullarton in his narrative states that on September 13 Lieut. Bowen was sent to Patna from Monghyr with a number of other prisoners and confined in Haji Ahmad's house¹⁶. There is no mention of a Lieut. Brown in any of the narratives.

Lieutenant-Fireworker Ardean Deckers.—This officer could not have been at Patna in October 1763, for the very simple reason that his will was proved in Calcutta on November 9, 1762 (Hodson, Vol. II, p. 58). His name is given as Adrian Decker in the will and in the entry in the register of his marriage at Calcutta on March 23, 1760, to Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 487). No other Bengal officer of the name can be traced. "Capt. Yeager" in the third list is an obvious repetition of Capt. "Jeekers" (Joecher).

Lieut.-Fireworker John Read.—was killed, as already stated, in the assault of Patna on June 25, 1763. All the three narratives (and also M'Kay's journal) agree in this. The name should be Reid.

Lieut.-Fireworker Benjamin Adamson.—The name of this officer appears only in Broome and in Stubbs who follows Broome. It is absent from all the three contemporary lists.

Lieutenant George Alston.—The name is included in the list of Bengal Officers in 1760 (Williams, Appx. A) but is not to be found in any of the contemporary lists.

Lieut.-Richard Holland.—Major Hodson (Vol. II, p. 469) spells the name Hollond, and states that he was the son of Major John Hollond, "formerly of the Madras, later of the Bengal Establishment" and a daughter of Randall Fowke of the Madras Civil Service (who died at Fort Saint George on October 2, 1745, at the age of 72). His uncle Joseph Fowke, who was a friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson, married Elizabeth Walsh, the sister of John Walsh, private secretary to Clive from 1757 to 1759. Fowke and his son Francis were indicted with Nuncomar for conspiracy against Hastings and found guilty. Richard Hollond who was born at Madras in 1742, and was appointed ensign in February 1760, was a lieutenant in the Bengal European Regiment at the time of the massacre. His name is given in all the lists.

Ensign Robert Roberts.—Major Hodson has ascertained that an officer of this name sailed for India on the *Royal Duke* in 1759 and was then aged 17. He was appointed an ensign on September 18, 1761, but has not been further traced. There is no evidence that he was at Patna in October 1763, beyond the vague statement of Broome.

¹⁶ Fullarton's narrative (Sept. 13). "Messrs. Ellis and Greentree were in palankins: Lushington, Smith, Lieut. Bowen, and Ensign M'Leod, and one other gentleman whom I don't remember were on horseback. The rest were in irons, some in dooleys and some in harricarrys and after their arrival at Patna were confined in Hadguhamett's house."

Ensign William Hincles.—No Bengal Officer of this name is discoverable: and he is not mentioned in the contemporary lists.

Ensign Isaac Humphries.—Entries in the staff journal of Major John Grant (Orme Mss. O. V. IV, pp. 19-20) show that a "Lieut. Humphreys," who was serving with Major Adams' force, was wounded at the battle of Gheria on August 2, 1763, and died three days later. There was no other officer of that name in the Bengal Army at the time: and the contemporary lists do not contain his name.

Ensign John Robert Roach.—No such officer can be traced. But there can be no doubt that Lieut. Maurice Roach perished in the massacre, although his name is omitted from the inscription in spite of its inclusion by Broome. "Ensign Maurice Roach" appears in the list of officers of 1760 (Williams, Appx. A).

Ensign John Perry or Parry.—This case presents some peculiar features. Broome gives him the rank of Ensign: and he appears as such in Dr. Fullarton's list. In the official list he is described as "Lieut. Perry" and is stated to have been massacred. The third list omits him. He was probably an officer in the Bengal European Regiment and is clearly distinguishable from Lieut. Fireworker Richard Parry or Perry. But his name cannot be traced in the India Office Records.

Ensign Walter Mackay.—The christian name should be Hugh: see Dr. Fullarton's list and M'Kay's own narrative in which he says that "Lieut. Morris Roach and Ensign Hugh M'Kay" were attached to the 1st division under Capt Charles Ernest Jacker Joecher. The surname is variously spelled M'Kay, McKay, and McKie. The correct form appears to be M'Kay.

It would seem that there were other survivors of the massacre besides Fullarton¹⁷ and the four sergeants, of whom Williams makes mention (pp. 127-128)—Davis, Douglas, Speedy "and another whose name I cannot now recollect," and who were "selected from the other prisoners" and sent to the Nawab of Purnea. He refused to put them to death and Mir Kasim thereupon ordered them to be taken on a "patela boat" to Patna in charge of a jamadar and twelve barkandazes: they overpowered the guard opposite "Sickra Gulley" and made their escape. Major Grant in his staff journal (Orme Mss. O. V. IV) records the arrival of another sergeant at Major Adams' camp at "Burree" on October 18:—

At night a Serjeant arrived in Camp from Bahar where he had been confined with 8 or 9 more English Soldiers of the Patna Detachment where they were at first 15 together but were separated some time ago; his comrades were murder'd and he made his escape by jumping over the wall of the Fort with another Man who broke his thigh with the fall.

¹⁷ Bengal Letter to the Court, December 19, 1763, para. 6: "Mr. Fullarton, Surgeon of the Patna Factory, was the only one spared in this massacre; but from his narrative it seems that the Nabob did this with the view of employing him to treat for peace, a most unaccountable Thought after such a cruelty committed upon our Friends and Countrymen."

He was pursued next day by 200 or 300 people and avoided their search by covering himself with sand.

Grant's journal contains no reference to Williams' four sergeants who are said by him to have joined Adams at Udhuanala. But the following entry was made at Colgong on September 18:—

This day one Mr. Dallass arrived from Mongheer; he had been made prisoner some time ago but not closely confined as they imagined him to be a Frenchman. He escaped by procuring a Destuck from M. Gentie to go with two People of Serampore to Patna.

Gentil, who was then in the service of Mir Kasim, says in his Memoirs that three Europeans were brought in chains to Monghyr. One was named "Dalson", whom we may identify with the "Dallass" of Grant's journal, another was an English surgeon "born at Lisbon", of whom nothing further is known, and the third was a German. Gentil asserts that he represented the men to be Frenchmen and procured their release through Gurgin Khan, sending them down to Calcutta in a boat. Later on, when Gentil discussed terms of peace with General Carnac on behalf of Shuja-ud-daula, the surgeon was presented to him. Could he have had Fullarton in mind? "Dalson", he says however, died from a fall at Calcutta shortly after his arrival¹⁸.

A few notes are added regarding some of the principal victims.

William Ellis, who was chief at Patna, arrived in Calcutta on July 16, 1749, and was an assistant in the Military Storekeeper's office at the time of the siege of Calcutta (1756). He served as a volunteer and took part in Lieut. Blagg's sortie. After the capture of the Fort he fled to Fulta and later on received a commission from Clive, losing his leg in the skirmish at Sealdah of February 5, 1757. In November of that year he went to England but returned as a Member of Council on November 23, 1759, succeeding William McGuire as chief at Patna in 1762.

William Hay, accompanied Peter Amyatt on his mission to Mir Kasim and was detained as a hostage. He arrived in Calcutta on July 29, 1752, and was an assistant at Luckipore (Jugdea) in the Noakhali district at the time of the siege, making his way to Fulta from that place. At the time of his death he was Eleventh in Council at the Presidency.

Major John Grant records in his staff journal (Orme Mss. O. V. IV, p. 38) that Major Adams received on October 9, 1763, when at Monghyr, the following letter from Ellis and Hay, written at Patna on October 4:—

Your favor of the 26th we have received with much Pleasure, and will endeavour to purchase our deliverance though we think it impracticable at least till your approach nearer to us. Since our leaving Mongheer we have been treated very ill: there are 49 in this Prison, 25 of which are

¹⁸ See "The Memoires of Gentil," Ind. Hist. Rec. Com. Progs., Vol. X, 1927 (p. 20). I can find no mention of either "Dallass" or "Dalson" in the contemporary register of burials at Calcutta.

in Irons, and in that Number is Mr. Hay. We have none we can trust to carry intelligence to you, but you may return the bearer again with safety, he knows where to find Us. There is a Rumor of our going to Rotas, but we hope that your speed will prevent it. In another Prison there are 8 or 9 other Gentlemen. We have lost Capt. Turner since our being taken.

Two days later the news came of the massacre.

John Chambers, second at Cossimbazar, seems to have been a son of Charles Chambers, who was a Director of the East India Company from 1755 to 1757, and again from 1763 to 1768. He arrived in Bengal on July 25, 1753, and was an assistant at Cossimbazar when the factory was captured by Siraj-ud-daula in 1756, and was taken prisoner but released on the French and Dutch Chiefs giving bail. He is said to have left a son John Chambers, described as a "free merchant and Oriental translator to the Company" (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 16), who died at Serampore in 1833 and whose sixth daughter Maria was married in 1826 to John Imhoff, the natural son of Julius Imhoff (second son of Mrs. Hastings).

James Philip Lyon, third at Cossimbazar, is described in Dr. Fullarton's list as "just come to the title of Earl of Strathmore." He was entitled to the courtesy prefix of "Honourable", as he was the second son of the eighth Earl: but his father died in January 1753 and was succeeded as ninth Earl by his elder son who survived (according to Burke's Peerage) until March 1776, so that the Bengal Writer (who was twenty-five years of age at the time of his murder) could not have "just come to the title" in 1763¹⁹. He seems to have left descendants in India, however, who kept up the tradition, for Mr. R. C. Sterndale—the author of a History of the Calcutta Collectorate—has related that he met in Upper Bengal two old gentlemen, twin brothers, whose similarity of habits, modes of thought, voice, features, and costume, were the source of amusement to their acquaintance. They bore the names of Thomas and Patrick Lyon and the elder claimed to be the rightful Earl of Strathmore. On April 3, 1763, Chambers writes from Cossimbazar to Calcutta that "the many daily occurrences here and reports convince me our Trade and everything will speedily be put a stop to." On July 4, Chambers and Lyon, writing from "Cossimbazar at 10 at Night" report that "We yesterday informed you of the Fate of Mr. Amyatt and his party." On the same day the news that "Cossimbazar Factory is surrounded" is sent from "Kewgong" by Thomas Motte, the husband of "Bibby" Motte, the companion and confidante of Mrs. Hastings. He adds:—

I have just receiv'd Advice that yesterday Mr. Amyatt's party on their return from Monghear were attacked and put to the sword by Mahomed Tucky Khan. Two Gentlemen, much wounded, are escaped to Mahutter,

¹⁹ Lyon named Warren Hastings as one of his executors. There is a copy of the will, dated October 23, 1762, in the Hastings Mss. at the British Museum (Add. Mss. 29,232: fol. 62).



THE LUSHINGTON MONUMENT.

and I have sent Plankeens to fetch them hither: who they are I know not, but they are in a most miserable condition²⁰.

One of these may possibly have been Lieut. Jones whose arrival at Monghyr in a dooly is mentioned by Anderson in his narrative (September 13).

Henry Lushington, came out to Bengal as a Writer on August 4, 1755, and was one of the survivors of the Black Hole. He and John Cooke, the Secretary to the Council, are said to have walked out of the Fort after their release and to have got on board a boat which took them down to Fulta. Under the orders of Clive, he wrote the name of Admiral Watson on the famous Loll Coggedge (Lal Khagaj) or Red Treaty which was prepared for the deception of Omichand. His father, the Rev. Henry Lushington, who was Vicar of Eastbourne, erected a large and imposing monument which may still be seen in the old parish church. The inscription states that "While ye Seapoys were performing their Savage Office upon ye first mentioned Gentleman" (Ellis) "fired with a generous Indignation at ye Distress of his Friend. He rushed upon his Assassins unarmed and seizing one of their Scimitars Killed Three of them and Wounded Two others, till at length oppressed with Numbers, he greatly fell"²¹. A bust and a coat of arms surmount the monument. Dr. Lushington, who was Vicar of the Parish from 1734 until his death in 1779, is buried under the floor of the sanctuary and the inscription on the tombstone records that "He was the father of Henry Lushington of Bengal and of Seven other deservedly beloved Children" of whom Stephen was Chairman of the East India Company in 1790, 1795, and 1799, and was created a baronet in 1791.

Captain Peter Carstairs, who was in command of the Patna detachment, is stated by Orme to have received his commission on June 18, 1756, during the siege of Fort William by Siraj-ud-daula: and according to the list sent by Holwell to the Council at Fort St. George on August 3, was wounded at the jail. There is no satisfactory evidence that he was imprisoned in the Black Hole: but Mr. S. C. Hill (*Bengal in 1756-1757*, Vol. I, p. xciii, note) inclines to the view that he was one of the survivors. He voted for immediate action before Plassey, and was promoted to the rank of captain on September 29, 1757. Williams says that a monument was erected to his memory at Hajipur, where he died on July 3 from a wound received at the battle of Manjhi; and Mr. Beveridge (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. 79, p. 339) states on the

²⁰ The letters have been printed in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. VI, pp. 211-256, I am indebted to Mr. C. A. Oldham, C.S.I., for the following identifications of the places mentioned. Kewgong Rennell's "Kiowgong," about 7 miles N. W. of Katwa. Mahutar Rennell's "Mouhautan," on the west bank of the Bhagirathi river, about 6 miles N. W. of Plassey.

²¹ See a letter from Major Adams which is printed in the *East India Military Calendar*, Vol. II, p. 81. It is undated but appears to have been written after the capture of Patna on Nov. 6. "At night, when he (Samru) arrived, he stood at some distance in the cook-room to give his orders, and as soon as Messrs. Ellis and Lushington entered, the former was seized by the hair, and pulling his head backwards, another cut his throat; on which Mr. Lushington knocked him down, seized his sword, killed one, and wounded two more, before he was himself cut down."

authority of Mr E. W. Collin, who was then (1884) sub-divisional officer at Hajipur, that there is a very large tomb of a pyramidal shape at that place and that the tradition is that it was erected over a lame sahib. The inscription had vanished but if the tomb be that of Carstairs, the lameness may refer to the nature of his wound which was in the groin.

Sir William Hope, was the third baronet of Balcomie and a kinsman of Capt. Archibald Swinton²². He was for some time in the Navy and joined the Company's service in 1758 from H. M. 31st Foot. His wife, who is said to have been a Dutchwoman, was with him at Patna, and when the English Factory was evacuated on June 26, went up the river with the party of fugitives. They surrendered at Hajipur on July 2 and were sent to Monghyr. The men were brought back to Patna on September 18: Lady Hope (says Anderson in his journal) arrived at the Dutch Factory on September 27. She married William Lambert, Military Paymaster-General, on April 27, 1764, and in February 1768 sailed without him for England where she died soon after her arrival.

Peter Amyatt, Second in Council at Calcutta, who headed the mission to Mir Kasim, arrived in Bengal on Aug 2, 1742, when he must have been about fifteen years of age. At the time of the siege and capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula in June 1756, he was chief at Jugdea (in the modern district of Noakhali) and escaped on board a sloop to Fulta with about Rs 60,000 of the Company's property. In the list of covenanted Servants on the Bengal Establishment on January 29, 1757, he is described as Collector of the Consulage and Register of Dusticks. Early in February of that year Clive sent him with letters to Siraj-ud-daula who was then near Dum Dum. In 1760 he went to Patna as Chief; and was passed over for Governor in July of that year by Henry Vansittart who was brought up from Madras. His first wife, Margaret, was at Fulta with him; his second wife, Maria Wollaston, whom he married on April 6, 1763, just before he started on his mission, was the sister of John Wollaston, who was killed with him near Murshidabad, and of Elizabeth Wollaston, who was married to General John Carnac on Nov. 7, 1765²³. After the murder of Peter Amyatt, his widow married (March 2, 1764) his cousin James Amyatt, a "country captain"; and they sailed for Europe, as recorded by Col. Alexander Champion in his diary, on February 10, 1766. Mrs. Amyatt died at Sidmouth in Devon on August 21, 1804, at the age of 64; and on the monument to her memory in Talaton Church she is described as "the widow of Peter Amyatt, Esq., Second in Council at Calcutta, who having been deputed on the public service of his country to the Court of Cossim Ally Khan, immediately after the nuptial ceremony, was murdered by the officers of that prince on his return to the Presidency." James Amyatt who had commanded the *Fort*

²² Swinton Family Records, pp 2—4

²³ She did not long survive and the "Mrs Carnac" of Sir Joshua Reynold's famous picture in the Wallace collection is Eliza Rivett, whom Carnac married in England when M. P. for Leominster and who died at Bombay in 1780

William in 1759, became M. P. for Southampton, and his daughter Charlotte married Sir John Kennaway, who was Resident at Hyderabad from 1788 to 1794.

The first intimation of the disaster reached Major Adams on October 11. The army had just entered Monghyr, and Major John Grant, whose staff journal (Orme Mss. O. V. IV) has already been mentioned, makes the following entry on that date:—

Tuesday 11th—Receiv'd an Account from Patna by a Boy (a Servant of Mr. Howett's) that all the Gentlemen were murdered there on the 6th Inst., and that Someroo and two Companys of Seapoys were the Executioners of this horrid Order, and that the Seats had fallen Victims to Cossim Allı Cawn's Villainy.

On October 18, by which time the Army had marched to Burhı (Rennell's Bhurree), "many of our Gentlemen's Servants arrived from Patna" in the evening: "they all agree in their Accounts" which Grant proceeds to insert in his journal. This entry is evidently the basis of the letter which was sent to Calcutta by Major Adams from "Camp at Burree, 18th October 1763"²⁴, the phrasing is so similar that it was probably drafted by Grant. There are however one or two differences. The story related by Adams is that of "one Assuck, consumah to Mr. Allbright, who gives the most distinct Account," and whom Adams "intends to send down to Calcutta for examination." Again, whereas Grant states that "all the Soldiers who were confined in the different places were ordered to be put to death," Adams says that they are "yet alive". At the end of his letter Adams added:—

They likewise say that immediately on the news of Oodwa Nullah being stormed, Cossim Allı Cawn ordered all the English to be sent out on the river and sunk there, but was prevented by Coja Gregore Gurgin Khan who, had he lived, they say, would have prevented this horrid affair.

The passage is not in Grant's journal. Anderson writes in his narrative on September 29: "Hear that the Nabob about three weeks ago proposed cutting us off, but was prevented by Somero (*sic.*), the Armenians, and some of his jamidars".

The news of the massacre was brought to England by the *Osterley* Indiaman, which arrived in the Downs early in June 1764. In a privately printed pamphlet²⁵, the text is given of a letter which appeared in the *Aberdeen Journal* on June 26, 1764. It is written by "an officer" of the 89th Regiment (raised by the Duke of Gordon in 1759) and is dated from the

²⁴ Bengal Cons., October 26, 1763. Printed in full in *Bengal. Past and Present*, Vol. VI, at p. 254.

²⁵ "The Fate of John Gordon of Dundurcus massacred at Patna 1763": by Dr. J. M. Bulloch and Mrs. C. O. Skelton (Keith, 1908). I am indebted to Dr. Bulloch for the loan of a copy of this pamphlet, which is rare. Gordon was a brother of the Rev. James Gordon (1729-1809), Minister of Bellie, whose son, the Rev. Alexander Gordon, was chaplain at Fort Saint George and died in 1800. Their father George Gordon (1698-1768) was Laird of Fifthpart, Dundurcus.

Osterley, off Dartmouth, June 11, 1764. After describing a stormy passage, it continues:—

You will soon see a particular detail in the papers of the disturbances which have happened lately at Bengal, where about 30 or 40 gentlemen have been basely massacred by the Nabob who has been defeated by your troops, and if taken will meet with a proper reward for his cruelty. Lieut. John Gordon (son to Mr. Gordon of Dundurcas) was one of the sufferers.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. 34, p. 340) also announces the arrival of the Indiaman:—

The purser of the *Osterley*, East India ship, arrived at the East India House with the news of the safe arrival of that ship in the Downs from Bengal, where everything is said at length to be settled in tranquility. But at the same time brings an account of a most barbarous massacre at Patna of our people, 58 of whom they murdered in cold blood in one night. Cossim Ally Cawn, not satisfied with this, continued the massacre of every European that was in his power. But the hand of Providence has been manifest in his total defeat. His troops were everywhere routed and he is now driven, a wretched exile, into a country where he must live, while he does live, in perpetual fear of a most tormenting death.

Mr. Brojendra Nath Banerji, in an interesting article on "The last Days of Nawab Mir Qasim" (Ind. Hist. Com. Progs., Vol. X, 1927) quotes several announcements of his death which took place at Delhi on June 6, 1777. His complicity in the massacre is fully established by Persian letters written by him to his officers which were found at Patna. Translations of these letters accompany a letter of General John Carnac of December 27, 1764, from Patna (Beng. Cons., January 3, 1765). The subsequent career of Samru, the executioner, is well known.

APPENDIX.

I.—"*List of Persons who Suffer'd in the Massacre at Patna and at other Places during the Troubles*" (pp. 101-103 in volume of *Bengal Baptisms, Marriages and Burials for the years 1755 to 1783: at the India Office*).

(1)

COVENANTED SERVANTS (19).

Killed at Muzadavad.

Mr. Amyatt.

Killed in the Massacre at Patna.

Mr. Ellis.

Mr. Hay.

Mr. Chambers.

Mr. Lushington.

Mr. Howitt.

Mr. Lyon.

Mr. Oakes.

Mr. Smith.

Mr. Amphlett.

Mr. Bennett.

Killed at Muzadavad.

Mr. Wollaston.

Killed in the Massacre at Patna.

Mr. Gulston.

Mr. Eyton.

Mr. Lake.

Mr. Hutchinson.

Mr. Round.

Mr. Collings.

Mr. Croke.

MILITARY (32).*Died of his wounds at the battle near Chupra.*

Capt. Carstairs.

(2)*Killed in the Massacre at Patna.*

Capt. Joecher.

Capt. Tabby.

Capt. Kinch.

Capt. Wilson.

Capt. Summers.

Capt. Wilson.^{2a}*Died of a flux at Mongheer.*

Capt. Turner.

Killed in the assault on Patna

Capt. Perry.

Killed in the Massacre at Patna.

Lieut. Hope.

Lieut. Parry.

Lieut. Roach.

Lieut. Holland.

Lieut. Jones.

Lieut. Gordon.

Lieut. Spinner (Spoonier).

Lieut. Stewart.

Killed in assault of Patna.

Lieut. Macdowall.

Lieut. Downie.

Killed in battle near Chupra.

Lieut. Pickering.

Killed at Muzadavad.

Lieut. Cooper.

(3)*Killed in battle near Chupra.*

Ensign Kraft.

Killed in Massacre at Patna.

Ensign Blewitt, senior.

Ensign Armstrong.

Ensign McKie.

Ensign Greentree.

Ensign McLeod.

Ensign Crawford.

Ensign Blewitt, junior.

Lieut. Fireworker Hamilton

Lieut. Fireworker Perry.

Lieut. Fireworker Bowen.

Killed in assault of Patna.

Lieut. Fireworker Reid.

SURGEONS (3).*Killed in Massacre at Patna.*

Mr. Crook.

Mr. Anderson.

(4)*Died at Mongheer.*

Mr. Ham.

PRIVATE MERCHANTS (11).*Killed in Massacre at Patna.*

Mr. Peter Campbell.

Mr. Harris.

Mr. Johnstone.

Mr. Plaise.

Mr. Filliott.

Mr. West.

Mr. Howitt.

Mr. Allbright.

Mr. Harling.

Killed at Rungpore.

Mr. Andrews.

Mr. Burslem.

(Total: 65.)

Fort William, the 20th February 1764.

A True List,

J. GRAHAM,

Secretary.

^{2a} The repetition of the name "Wilson" is obviously a copyist's slip. Fullarton's list gives "Capt. Treadwell, killed in the attack of the killa" and the third list "Lieut. Tradwell, massacred."

II.—“ *List of the Unhappy Sufferers* ” (Orme Mss. No. 21 Bengal, 1759 to 1763: p. 129: immediately following transcript of Dr. Fullarton's narrative).

(1)

THE PATNA PARTY.

6 COVENANTED SERVANTS.

All massacred the 6th of October.

William Ellis, Esq., Chief.

Mr. Henry Lushington, Second.

Mr. Samuel Howitt, Third.

Mr. William Smith, Fourth.

Mr. Marmaduke Collings, Assistant.

Mr. William Lake, Commissary to the Army at Patna.

(2)

25 MILITARY.

Killed in the Field the 1st July

Capt. Peter Carstairs, commanding officer.

Massacred 6th October.

Capt. Charles Ernest Yeacher (Joecher).

Capt. William James Tabby.

(3)

Died while prisoner of the Nabob at Mongheer.

Capt. William Turner.

Massacred.

Capt. George Wilson.

Killed in the attack of the Killah at Patna.

Capt. Ambrose Perry.

Massacred.

Capt. Henry Summers.

Killed in the attack of the Killah.

Capt. James Treadwell.

Massacred.

Sir William Hope, Lieut.

Killed at the attack of the Killah.

Lieut. John McDowell.

Killed at the Gate when the enemy entered and retook Patna.

Lieut. John Downy.

Killed at the attack of the Killah.

Lieut. Richard Parry.

Massacred.

Lieut. Maurice Roach.

Lieut. Richard Holland.

Lieut. Thomas Pickering.

Lieut. William Stuart.

Lieut. Cornelius Krafft.

Lieut. John Blewitt.

Lieut. John Armstrong.

Lieut. Hugh McKie.

Lieut. John Greentree.

Lieut. Duncan McCloud.

Ensign William Crawford.

Ensign Samuel Blewitt.

Ensign John Parry.

(4)

4 ARTILLERY.

Massacred 6th October.

Capt. John Kinch, commandant.

Lieut. Philip Hambleton (Hamilton).

Lieut. Richard Parry.

Lieut. John Bowen.

1 (SURGEON).

Massacred.

Mr. William Anderson, Surgeon to the Army at Patna.

6 (8) AGENTS TAKEN PRISONERS AT OR NEAR PATNA.

Massacred.

Mr. John Howitt, brother to Samuel Howitt.

Mr. Peter Campbell, late Surgeon of one of the Indiamen.

Mr. Thompson, Agent for Mr. McGuire.

Capt. Allwright.

Capt. John Harris.

Capt. John Johnstone.

Mr. Folliot, son of General Folliot.

Mr. Place.

THE COSSIMBAZAR PARTY.

7 COVENANTED SERVANTS.

Massacred.

Mr. John Chambers, Second of the Factory.

The Hon'ble James Philip Lyon, Esq., just come to the title of Earl of Strathmore, third

Mr. Edward Oakes, fourth.

Mr. Charles Bennett, assistant.

Mr. William Eyton, assistant.

Mr. William Round, assistant.

Mr. Edward Crook, assistant.

(3 SURGEONS).

Mr. Ham, Surgeon to the Factory, died whilst prisoner of the Nabob at Mongheer.

(5)

Massacred.

Doctor Smith, a Swiss.

Doctor Haslam, formerly in the King's Train at Bombay.

Mr. Felix Milner on his way up to Patna supposed to be either drowned on being attacked in his Budge-row on the Great River by the Nabob's people, or else carried prisoner to the Nabob and afterwards massacred.

MR AMYATT'S PARTY SENT FROM CALCUTTA APRIL 6TH, 1763, ON A DEPUTATION TO THE NABOB

6 COVENANTED SERVANTS.

Peter Amyatt, Esq., Second at the Board in Calcutta, killed by the Nabob's people near Cossimbazar on his way to Calcutta.

William Hay, Esq., Eleventh at the Board in Calcutta, detained a hostage by the Nabob on his dismissal of Messrs. Amyatt, etc., and afterwards massacred 6th October.

Mr. Thomas Amphlett, appointed Resident at the Durbar, massacred.

(6)

Mr. John Wollaston, Secretary to the Embassy, killed by the Nabob's people with Mr. Amyatt near Cossimbazar.

Mr. Edward Gulston, Persian Translator to the Embassy, detained as a hostage by the Nabob on his dismissal of Messrs Amyatt etc and afterwards massacred.

Mr. Henry Hutchinson, assistant to Mr. Amphlett, Resident at the Durbar, massacred.

3 MILITARY.

Lieut. John Gordon, massacred.

Lieut. James Jones, massacred.

Ensign James Couper, killed by the Nabob's people with Mr. Amyatt near Cossimbazar.

(1 SURGEON).

Doctor Clement Crooke, dangerously wounded in the head by the Nabob's people with Mr. Amyatt near Cossimbazar and it is said died a few days afterwards.

NOTE (in original). This List is deficient in the number of the unhappy sufferers for want of more particular advices.

(Total: 65 names).

III.—“ *A List of the Gentlemen who were Killed in Engagements or Massacred at Patna during the Troubles in 1763* ” (Orme Mss. No. 21, Bengal. 1759 to 1763, p. 133: immediately follows the second List).

(1)

Peter Amyatt.

William Ellis.

John Chambers.

William Hay, Esqrs., of Council.

Henry Lushington.

Honble J. P. Lyon.

Thomas Amphlett.

John Woolaston.

Edward Gulston.

Henry Hutchinson.

Edward Oakes.

(2)

William Lake.
 William Eyton.
 Edward Crooke.
 William Round.
 Bernard Townshend.
 Charles Bennet.
 Samuel Howit.
 William Smith.
 Marmaduke Collins 20, all Company's
 Servants.

(3)

Captains (8).

Carstairs—died of his wounds.
 Jeekers (Joecher).
 Perry—killed at the assault of
 Patna.
 Summers.
 Kinch.
 Tabby.
 Yeager (*sic*).
 Willson.

Lieutenants (17).

Jones.
 Cowper—killed at Muxadavad.
 Gordon.
 Cooper.
 Tradwell.
 Roach.
 Hope.
 McDowell—killed at the Assault of
 Patna.
 Hamilton.
 Parry.
 Downey—killed at the Assault of
 Patna.
 Brown.
 Steward.
 Spooner.

Bowen.

Craft—killed in the battle near
 Chuprah.

Pickering—killed in the battle near
 Chuprah.

(4)

Ensigns (11).

Armstrong.
 McKay.
 MacLeod.
 Blewit, senior.
 Blewit, junior.
 Greentree.
 Krast (*sic*).
 Crawford.
 Hollond.
 Crookes.
 Reid—killed at the Assault at Patna.

Surgeons (4).

Harling.
 Campbell.
 Anderson.
 Crooke.

Free Merchants (10).

Harney.
 Burslem.
 Howit.
 Johnstone.
 Harris.
 Allwright.
 Place.
 Folliot.
 West.
 Andrews.

Died at Mongher (2).

Capt. Turner.
 Doctor Ham.
 In all 72.
 Soldiers about 120.
 Total slain 192.

 ADDENDUM.

Page 11, Richard Parry.—Since the reading of this paper Major Hodson has ascertained that letters of administration were granted in London in June 1766 of the estate of Richard Parry, late a lieutenant in the military service of the East India Company at Patna.

Memorandum on the Methods of Record-keeping and Preservation of Records.¹

(By Lt-Col R. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S.)

During the months of March and April 1930, I was placed on deputation in London to investigate the methods of record keeping and preservation of records in the various public offices in London. The following memorandum indicates briefly what has been done and will form the basis of a fuller report. While merely compiled for the Punjab it may form a useful guide to the Record offices in other provinces.

Speaking generally, one is struck by the great contrast between the English and the Indian methods for the preservation of public documents. In England such preservation rests upon various Acts of Parliament—commencing with the Act of 1838, which set up the existing Public Record Office in Chancery Lane and gathered together various scattered collection of documents to one central place. In India, we have had so far as I know, no regular legislation on the subject, and such relations as there are between the Provincial Governments and their record authorities and Imperial Record Department in Calcutta are more or less informal—the only liaison being the Indian Historical Records Commission—an advisory body only, which has no method of enforcing its recommendations.

Again, in England, “Archivism”—to give it its proper technical name—*i.e.*, the care and preservation of documents intended for permanent preservation—is recognized as a highly specialised study and is kept altogether distinct from Registration—*i.e.*, the reception and care of miscellaneous departmental documents, many of which are of merely ephemeral value. In India the two branches tend to be mixed up.

To turn from the general to the particular, and to take the case of my own province the Punjab. I am, on paper, the Keeper of the Records of Government, and my position roughly corresponds to that of the Deputy Keeper at the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, who is the working head of the department, having behind him the Master of the Rolls as Keeper of the Records to whom he can refer in any cases of difficulty just as I have the Chief Secretary to Government in a similar capacity.

Actually I am in a much more anomalous position. I have the custody of all the Secretariat papers proper (beginning with the Residency and Agency letters which commence about 1808 and including also the Vernacular Records left behind by the Sikh Durbar in 1849) and also of number of public papers of various dates prior to 1885—the year fixed as the close of the historical period (in England the date is 1878)—coming from all sorts of

¹ This memorandum was considered along with a note by the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, in paragraph VI of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting, see pp. 177-9 below.

Departments and “dumped” in the Record office at various times and in varying stages of order and preservation. There is for example, a small isolated collection of papers of the Forest Department of an early date—beginning in the air and ending in the air, so to speak. All other records of this department are with the department itself and the same applies to the P. W. D. and other departments. Such a state of things would never be tolerated at the Public Record Office (as I show below). The Department concerned would either have to send in its early records in a current and continuous form and in proper preservation, or not at all. The Public Record Office would simply refuse to take odd sections.

In this capacity, as described above, the Punjab Record Office partakes of the nature of a state paper office of the old type—abolished in 1838 by the Act of Parliament mentioned above. In addition to these functions the Punjab Record office “houses” (I can use no other word) the current proceedings of the Secretariat proper and from the English point of view, would be considered the Registry of the Secretariat as well as the Record office.

This dual function is, from the point of view of “Archivism”, most undesirable, as will be clear from the description given in detail below. If we were to set up, as we should do, in each province in India, a regular Public Record office, current proceedings would be the affair of the departments concerned, and each Provincial Record office would become—as is the case of the Public Record office—a repository for papers deemed worthy of permanent preservation sent to it by the various departments. I might add further that when so sent they should remain in the Record office in a permanent and continuous form. This is not the case at present. Again and again when asked to supply information I have been brought to a stop by discovering that certain vital papers are “missing” from the sequence. What has happened is that those particular papers have been “borrowed” by some department, perhaps twenty years ago and placed on some file in the office concerned. This would never be tolerated in the Public Record office. Papers once sent there would stay there, only copies being allowed to go out. I introduced a rule to this effect in our own office some years ago but while this will check the evil in the present and future it will not atone for the robberies of the past (*e.g.*, somewhere about 1877 some clerk in the High Court “borrowed” the whole original proceedings of the trial of Mul Raj—a most important state trial—where they are now is impossible to say).

As to what papers should be sent to the Record office for preservation this is a matter which, as in England, should be discussed between the Keeper of the Records, who is, or ought to be, an expert, and the responsible official of the Department concerned.

‘Archivism’ is a highly specialized form of study and should be treated as such and the elderly mechanical clerk who usually does the work in India should be replaced by a man with proper training. The staff at the Public

Record office are all men of academic distinction who have been specially nominated for the work and we should aim at something of the sort in India. The bibliography of the science of the preservation and care of archives is now a fairly extensive one, but so far the study of the science has been neglected in India. When the Union of South Africa came into being, the new Government deemed it worth their while to send a special officer to Europe and America to study the subject of the care of archives and Mr Botha's report is of great interest.

I now turn to a brief survey of some of the details of preservation, etc., in the Public Record office, as well as those in use for registration, preservation and destruction (the latter a most vital point) in two typical offices—the War and Foreign offices. I selected these two at the suggestion of Mr A. E. Stamp, the Deputy Keeper of the Records, to whom I am very grateful for much help in my work. I would also express my thanks to Mr Jenkinson of the Public Record office, Mr Eustace Davis of the Treasury and Mr Gaselee, the Librarian of the Foreign Office, for their kind assistance.

As I remarked above, on surveying the methods, etc., in use in the Public Record office, I was struck by the essential difference between the method employed there and that in use in India, *viz.*, that our Record offices in India, so far as I have seen them, partake of the nature of State paper offices rather than of a Public Record office. A very large number of the papers stored in Chancery Lane, where the Public Record office is located, consist of legal decisions and other papers of a purely legal nature to which, under regulations, the public have the freest access. Such papers in India are to be found in the record room of the various courts—with the exception of those of an early date, and these latter are not public, in the sense in which they are public in England for they cannot be inspected by the public or used in litigation without special permission.

Accessibility to the Public.—The use of the Public Record office by the public is controlled by a definite set of rules which are very much the same as those in use in India, except that they are of rather more detailed nature.

Much more stress is laid in England upon the methods of transfer of documents from the various departments to the Public Record office. In India we are accustomed to receive whatever documents may be sent to us for custody and preservation, no matter in what form. But the Public Record office authorities, as I have already mentioned, require certain conditions to be complied with, before they undertake to receive any documents. This is a very sound practice and might very well be adopted in India. It might be added that all documents are sent to the Public Record office in original as no value is attached to printed copies. I drew attention some time ago to the practice in most offices in India of destroying originals and keeping printed copies and to the incorrectness of the practice. Objection was made on the ground that keeping originals would make the records

too bulky. But I am glad to find that my strictures are supported by expert opinion in England.

I now turn to a very important point—*viz.*, the destruction of documents. Whereas in India a very wide latitude is allowed to departmental authorities and to Record offices in the destruction of documents, in England very much greater care is exercised. We are content to classify loosely by proceedings—A. B. C.—and to destroy what seems of no permanent value without reference to any other authority. But in England documents are not allowed to be destroyed without a series of formalities and unless they appear upon a regular schedule. The whole procedure is governed by certain orders in Council, etc., which I shall include in my main report. Some offices are more conservative in these matters than others. In the Foreign office I was told “Destroy nothing” was the maxim. All documents sent in to the Public Record office run consecutively and there is no fresh start—a useful method of ensuring continuity. Further in conformity with the regulations departmental documents are, as I have pointed out above, properly “weeded” and edited before being sent in for permanent preservation.

Press Listing of documents is done in three forms of varying detail. In India we appear to follow stage three of the system in use in the Public Record office—*viz.*, number of document, destination and origin—short title—abstract. In the Punjab we have attempted a liaison with papers in private collections and their reproduction for record if of historical interest. There is nothing of this sort attempted at the Public Record office (except the work done by the Historical Records Commission) and the authorities of the office are not prepared to receive such papers. In their view such documents should find a place in a museum. They prefer to deal with a complete series of documents, and, in this, they differ from the continental archivists who are quite willing to receive isolated documents. The only exception to this has been certain collections of ministerial papers which have found their way to the Office by presentation (and this applies also to the papers of *ex*-Foreign Secretaries presented to the Foreign office). It is well known that the practice has been in England for an *ex*-minister to take into retirement with him any papers collected during his period of office and that those have often formed the basis of valuable historical work (here, again, particularly in the case of Foreign Secretaries, much of whose work was done by confidential and informal correspondence). But there is no attempt to form an official collection at the Public Record office.

Further, there is no control by the Public Record office over local records (the only exception being that, under the Land Act of 1926, the Master of the Rolls—the official Keeper of the Records of England—has considerable power over manorial rolls). Recently we have been contemplating in the Punjab a detailed survey of district records with a view to seeing what they contain and whether some of them might be more fitly transferred to headquarters. While District record keeping in India probably

does need higher supervision—considering the class of men usually found doing it—nothing of the sort is done in England where such work is left to local archivists. Some counties are ahead of others in this respect. Bedfordshire has an excellent county muniment room, while in other cases the records of the older towns have been set in order by some local archivist—as for example those at Lyme Regis by Mr Wakelyn. In India we possess certain sections known as confidential sections and not ordinarily open to the public. While in the various departments in London such sections, known as secret, must of necessity exist, there is no such section in the Public Record Office. All documents there are thrown open to the public—except those of very recent date—in which many living persons are concerned and which cannot be regarded as strictly historical. These are located in a separate building altogether—out of London, in a disused gaol at Canterbury.

In the Punjab we shall have to face some division of our records before long as the present office will hold little more and if a proper separation takes place and our historical archives proper—of *all* departments and not only of the Secretariat—are to be put together as they should be, a new home for current papers will have to be found.

Searching.—Applicants are of two classes—literary searchers with some historical object and legal searchers who are utilizing the legal records for some more practical purposes. It must be remembered that, like India, all Government records are not housed at the Record Office, (just as in the Punjab, many documents of historical *cum* legal importance are not in the Record Office, but in the office of the Financial Commissioners, etc.). Such offices, as Somerset House, maintained their own records: while the official copy of the London Gazette is at the Stationery Office.

Indexing.—In a large office like the Public Record Office the system of indexing is naturally more complicated than in the smaller record room in India. One useful adjunct is a card catalogue indication where any original document has been reproduced in full. This is of value as it may save a long hunt for the original, if it is ascertained from the card index that a certain document is reproduced in such and such a collection. We have introduced something of the sort on a small scale in the Punjab, by the reproduction by photostat of documents of interest—which are preserved in indexed albums.

Various methods of reproduction are in use. The Photostat is fairly common and also a method of reproduction by strip film which has, I understand, been tried in Bengal. When a document has faded and is not legible, it may be photographed under *ultra-violet* rays and a copy then preserved as the rays enable the faded ink to be reproduced.

Methods of preservations.—I devoted a considerable time to inspecting the methods of preserving documents. I give the main points, but of course certain material, etc., may not be suited to the Indian climate and experi-

ments are necessary. Pure size—made of old fragments of parchment—is used in all cases to preserve an old document. This has the effect of restoring to the fabric what it has lost by process of years and “fixing” it in a permanent form. In Belgium Celluloid Varnish is used but this is a dangerous process, as it involves the use of highly inflammable substances.

Paste where used should be of pure flour and water and nothing else. Some authorities recommend corn flour. This is the English practice but from my own experience I should add that all paste used in India should contain a poison as a protection against white ants, etc. My own prescription is Alcohol, Corrosive Sublimate, and pure Formalin—one ounce of each of the latter dissolved in one gallon of the spirit.

A torn or injured document should be repaired with *Silk* muslin; this is better than the fine cotton muslin we have been using in India, as it enables the writing beneath to be more easily read. Where a stronger material is needed—*c.g.*, in repairing a parchment—Miller’s *silk bolting cloth* should be used but this is very expensive and should only be used when really necessary.

The pasting on a document of a piece of gummed transparent paper, should *never* be adopted. This method was used in the Public Record office some years ago with disastrous results. I am afraid it has also been used in India. Both the gum and the paper become discoloured after a few years and at the Public Record office they are systematically removing such where it has been applied.

Binding.—Each bound leaf should be carefully guarded by an edging so that every part of the document is accessible. (The way in which our own records are bound in the Punjab is quite wrong. Fortunately most of the bindings are worn out so there is an excellent opportunity for rebinding in the proper way as mentioned above.)

Buckram has been found to be far the best and cheapest material for the covers of books, of documents, etc., and the book should be backed with strong skin. In the Public Record office they use a special native tanned African goat skin and it would be worth while experimenting with the native Indian goat skin. The African skin is tanned with a vegetable tan and has no chemical applied to it. Skins tanned with acid should never be used. To preserve the leather it should be treated with the mixture used in the British museum—*viz.*, Hexain, Lanoline, and cedar wood oil. All heavy volumes should have *toggles* on their backs to save the binding. In England they are not faced with the problem of the white ant, etc. Hence I advocate, as previously, the use of my own preparation for application to all bindings. For general information as to care of books, etc., “Cockerell’s Book-binding and care of Books” should be consulted.

Maps.—All folded maps are removed from the bundles in which they occur and carefully flattened, and transferred to a separate map room (a note to that effect being left in the bundle). To preserve them they are mounted on buckram, if necessary. Where it is desired to keep them rolled

up they are placed round a roller and covered with glazed cloth. These are kept on slat racks.

Flattened maps are kept in special cabinets. These methods should certainly be introduced into India, where the heat causes maps to crack badly if folded.

Documents.—There are two methods of preservation of loose documents in use in the Public Record office (a) Preservation between boards—(b) preservation in boxes. To take (a) first. A bundle of documents is placed between boards—straw board for the smaller and mill board for the larger. On to one of the boards is bolted a sheet of stout calico—secured by copper split rivets. The calico is then drawn over the documents and the other board and secured by a stout string. It is advisable to guard the boxes on the four sides with a binding to prevent cutting by the string. The documents themselves are held together in convenient sections in a buckram cover and, within this are sewn together between vellum guards with stout whip cord. This seems a more satisfactory method than the cover and board used by us. It is practically dust proof and should be very durable. In the case of (b), the boxes which is the later method employed, the documents, treated as above, are enclosed in boxes, specially made of two layers of board—which are covered with art canvas and labelled on the back like ordinary volumes. This is a more costly process but would appear even more suitable to India. The unexposed end of the book is covered with a buckram flap.

As recommended in India by the Historical Records Commission, I found vacuum cleaners in use in the Public Record office, both the Sturtevant, which is the pattern we use, and another and cheaper machine in addition.

These are the main points I noticed in connection with the care and preservation of archives in the Public Record office. In addition the following works may be consulted with advantage.

Scott—"Cleaning and restoration of museum Exhibits".

Jenkinson—Archives Administration—(O. U. Press) and the "Arrangement of Archives" Muller, Falk and Frewen (who are the best continental authorities).

The Museum at the Public Record office.

This is naturally more elaborate than that in Lahore. Speaking generally—as with us, the exhibits are selected for historical importance, artistic merit, curiosity, or typicality. An illustrated catalogue is provided (on sale). Also picture post cards of the more interesting exhibits—e.g., Domesday book—are on sale to the public and appear to be in demand. This might be tried with us. The main points in connection with presentation of exhibits are:—

1. Cases are provided with spring blinds to preserve their contents from the light.

2. Cases are upright and not horizontal.

3. Drawers are provided for the more sensitive exhibits. I think we should adopt these methods in India—details as to dimensions, etc., will appear in my fuller report.

After a careful examination of the Public Record office and after consultation with the officials there, I had collected a great deal of information of value and details of method, etc., suitable, *mutatis mutandis*, to be adopted in India for I think that the Public Record office standards are those at which we should aim in India. I then, upon the advice of the Deputy Keeper, arranged to visit the War and Foreign offices, to study the methods in use in those departments. Before doing so, however, I paid a visit to *Canterbury* to see the branch of the Public Record office located there, which I have already alluded to, earlier in this note.

The Canterbury branch of the Record office.

This is located in a disused House of Correction at Canterbury and in it are deposited modern documents of various departments which are not ordinarily open to the public and which are only required at present for departmental or official purposes. I was much struck on visiting the branch with the ready adaptability of a building of this type for record purposes. The cellular construction lends itself admirably for what is wanted. At Canterbury the structural arrangements have been modified but little, the existing cells merely having suitable racks inserted in them. I think we might very well consider something of this sort in India—if any of the smaller district gaols were to be closed. The liaison between the main office and branch is easily maintained and the method of requisition quite simple. Details of the forms used, etc., are given in my fuller report. The problem will become urgent in the Punjab before long as not only the main Record office but the Record offices of many other departments are rapidly reaching their limits.

Visit to the War and the Foreign offices.

In my visits to both these I saw, in addition to their local method of record keeping, a great deal of the detail of their methods of registration of current papers, etc., a great deal of which is of more use to the registration sections of our various offices than to a Record office, which as I have laboured to prove, should represent the final home of papers deposited for permanent custody, which have gone through all the necessary winnowing before they find their way there. However I include in my fuller report specimens of practically all forms used in the War and Foreign Offices in the hope that such may be useful to any one who contemplates the organization of a new office or the reorganization of an old one. In this memorandum I merely include points which struck me as of major importance.

War office.—I found my visit here of great value as the War office is about the same age as the Punjab Record office and it was easy, *mutatis mutandis*, to compare methods. Their Record branch is very carefully organized and is, naturally, very extensive. The main control is by a series index (which is cross referenced) and which gives great detail. We ought, ultimately, in the Punjab to introduce such an index and it will serve as a key both to the Press Lists of historical records and others of more modern date.

Destruction is governed by the schedule under the Act, as in all other Government offices (except the India Office—which is self-contained and has no connection with the Public Record authorities at all). Apart from this a great deal of internal weeding is done at the discretion of the officer concerned—as is the case with us, but under very detailed instructions issued to the staff by the officer in charge. A copy of these instructions will be found in my main report. In Lahore I have done all weeding of papers in the Record office myself (as I have remarked above, in England papers sent to the Record office would require no such treatment, as all weeding have been done beforehand in the department concerned) and, prior to my appointment in 1923 the work was done by various officers placed on special duty for the purpose. But we have all acted entirely on our own responsibility and judgment and I think that, for the future, weeding should only be undertaken on definite lines, such as those laid down in the War office instructions. Different officers may have different standards of importance. Indeed, since I have been Keeper of the Records I have noticed that my predecessors have destroyed or disposed of many documents which I should not have done and my successors may bring the same charge against me. Hence some standard is highly desirable. Instead of the mere destruction being noted in the relevant weekly abstract, which is our present practice, the War office has an elaborate weeding register which is maintained on the loose leaf principle, and which makes it easy to ascertain the fate of a particular document instead of having to hunt through the weekly abstracts. The War office find, as we have done, that it is most convenient to re-employ pensioners for this kind of work. It is not heavy and is suited to elderly men. On the other hand the pensioner has usually some knowledge of the papers he is handling and knows what is likely to be of value or worth retention—a knowledge gained by many years of experience which a younger man cannot have.

Inspection and search rules.—These are very rigid in the War office. Not only may no copy be taken without permission, but the applicant has to undertake not to communicate any of the contents to an outsider. The War office has a confidential section in its Record Branch—but this is mainly of a personal nature—officers' confidential files, etc. Really secret records are kept in the section concerned.

Reproduction of Records.—Prior to 1914 the War office had started a series of selected papers—printing up after very careful editing (a thing

which is usually conspicuously lacking in our file proceedings in India) the collected proceedings on some particular subject. This would correspond to some extent to the monographs now issuing from the Punjab Record office, and has been discontinued by the War office authorities owing to expense. Fortunately printing labour being cheaper in India we are able to continue such work. But, speaking of the English offices in general and the War office in particular, they print up ordinary proceedings for record far less than we do in India. This is of course for economic reasons, and with the end in view of curtailing expense in this direction, a special section in the War office does nothing else but deal with matter sent up for printing. I believe that, in the Punjab, we do something of the sort by means of a special officer maintained at the Government press, but I know that when I was on special duty in this connection in the Home Department of the Government of India in the summer of 1920 at Simla, I found all government departments—particularly Army headquarters—very great offenders in this respect. However this hardly lies within the scope of this inquiry as I am mainly concerned with the care and custody of records sent to me for preservation—not for their previous preparation.

Like the Public Record office, the War office has found it necessary to open a branch in the country, when the enormous mass of archives connected with the Great War are deposited. This is located at Isleworth in a disused school. Like the Public Record office Department at Canterbury to which I have already referred, Isleworth is a self-contained unit—comprising all historical records from 1879 and including all those of the Great War. The special feature that I noticed here was the method of indexing. Instead of cards in boxes they use small loose leaf books—a specimen is attached to my main report. These are kept in cupboards and are much handier than the ordinary box card index. The latter has its points but is apt to be both bulky and clumsy when it reaches any great size and the small books are much better.

Foreign office.—The records in this office are in charge of the Librarian, Mr. Gaselee—who supplied me with a memorandum on the organization which is attached to my main report. The documents in this office are of a very miscellaneous nature and the system of registration is a very elaborate one and is described at length in the memorandum supplied to me. I have also secured copies of the various forms in use and it is a question for consideration how far any of these may profitably take the place of those in use in India. This can only be done after consultation on the spot with the official concerned and really lies outside my province as Keeper of deposited archives.

In the Foreign office their indexing system is very elaborate. There is a main card index which since 1919 has been printed up at the end of every year (at a cost of above £700) and a name index which is kept for two years.

The records of the office prior to 1885 have been sent to the Public Record office and are accessible to the public under the ordinary rules of that office.

Later records are not open and can only be seen by permission. In an office such as this there is naturally a large amount of secret matter. Such papers are not registered in the ordinary way but are specially dealt with by a senior official in the Registry. The paper to which I refer are those likely to compromise individual sect. When the passage of time or other circumstances has rendered secrecy no longer essential they are "desecretized" and placed among the ordinary records. The latter process may well be adopted with us. We have many papers in the so-called confidential section in the Record office which are no longer confidential at all but continued to be so because at some earlier date they were catalogued as such. Like our own monographs in the Record office, the Foreign office also prepares historical memoranda on various subjects—summarizing all the available information in the office and obviating a further search. These are bound up and kept in duplicates and entered in a running register with an alphabetical card index. Our own monograph system, at present in its infancy, will ultimately reach something of the same dimensions.

The Foreign office is bound to supply a copy of any document deposited there, under the certificate of the Librarian and this is deemed a certificate of original correctness.

Weeding is done on a very limited scale in this office. As I have remarked earlier their method is "destroy nothing", I was informed that even such apparently unimportant papers as applications from consuls, etc., for leave are carefully preserved even after many years. I am afraid we do not attain to such a standard ourselves and I must plead guilty to having destroyed many hundreds of such papers in the course of weeding.

Such, then, is a brief memorandum of the principal points that I noticed in the course of my investigation. As I remarked at the beginning this is merely an outline of what it is hoped will be a much fuller and more detailed report—illustrated by number of samples, forms and detailed office instructions which cannot be included in a memorandum of this nature and which I am taking back to India to complete my work in my office there.

Sir Streynsham Master's Account of the Gollapallee Diamond Mines.

[By Rao Bahadur Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., (Hony) Ph.D.]

The extract given below is taken from the Diary of the President of Council at Fort St. George, Sir Streynsham Master, who succeeded Sir William Langhorn as President of the Factory, and was in turn succeeded by Sir William Gyfford. The period of his office extended from January 1678 to 3rd July 1681. The diary here actually refers to the dates 20th April 1679 to 22nd of April 1679 when Master went to Masulipatam and places in the vicinity. Having completed his business of inspection and examination of

accounts, he started on the return journey and made a diversion from Madapollam to Ellore with a view to visit the diamond mines, which apparently were known to him, as Mr Nathaniel Cholmley, another of the Company's servants, made purchases of diamonds in the mines for the Company. As is clear from the diary itself, the road from Ellore to Bezwada passes through the mines at the foot of the hill to Mustabad, and thence to Bezwada, the whole mining area being covered by the road. There are many points of interest in the account of the mines as given by Master. This mine came into existence in 1670 first of all, was soon abandoned, and the license for mining here was renewed in 1673, when the other famous mine at Kollur had been abandoned, apparently owing to exhaustion. Tavernier's visit to the mine area of Kollur, not very far off, and to that at Ramallakotta, just before that, both of them took place actually before the year A. D. 1655, when he visited Mir Jumla at Gandikotta. Of course Tavernier's account is not always reliable in every detail.

The details of the working, etc., of the Kollur mines, which he visited, he describes, in chapter 16 of his work. He puts this down at seven days' journey east of Golkonda and says " it was called Gani *in the language of the country*, and Colour in the Persian tongue ". From the description given of it, the place has been located correctly enough at Kollur, situated in the loop of the river Krishna where an outcrop of the Nallamallais spreads itself and provides a suitable ground for this industry. It is almost in the middle of a line drawn from Bellamkonda to Jaggayyapetta, and is in the Satnapallee Taluq of the Guntur District. This was apparently called Gani Kollur, sometimes merely Gani, to distinguish the place from another Kollur lower down on the river Krishna, also called Kollur *in the language of the country*, that is by the people, the language being of course Telugu. The word therefore means a mine, as it is even in Kanarese, as one might say in the vernacular languages of the country, as the Kolar Gold Fields now are generally referred to by the name Gani. It is not a Persian word, as Tavernier, and I believe even Sir William Crooke, the latest commentator on the work, take it. The word is neither Persian, nor is the construction of the word given correctly. It is in fact Sans Khanin adopted into the Dravidian languages. In describing this mine, he speaks of a diamond of 900 carats. It is 900 ratis elsewhere, equivalent to $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats, and refers to the mine as of importance because of the unusually large number of larger diamonds that had been found there. He then goes on to describe the way in which the Indians examined the stones and mentions that there were as many as 60,000 workmen engaged including men, women and children, and notes that the working here was different from that which he noticed at Ramallakotta. The process of lixiviation for washing the earth sticking to the stones is given here differently. A space is enclosed by a short wall running round it with holes at the bottom for running off the water. All the diggings are carried into this place, and water is thrown upon it to soften it first of all. After a day or two of this treatment, it is reduced to the consistency of a pulp, and then

they pour more water and open the holes and run off the water. Then they pour more water to wash away the rest of the earth. They let it dry in the sun and, after winnowing the dust, they pass it on to the second process in which they spread the gravel-like pebbles on even ground, and make it level. By means of wooden dampers they pound it and after winnowing again, they sit down to pick the diamonds from among the gravelly pebbles. This differs of course, from the process that Master describes in some particulars, and so far as these processes are concerned, they are bound to differ from locality, to locality, and the character of the soil from which diamonds are actually dug out.

According to Tavernier:—

“ Business is conducted with freedom and fidelity. Two per cent. on all purchases is paid to the king; also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine. These merchants take an area of 200 paces in circumference, where they employ fifty miners and sometimes a hundred. They pay a duty of *two pagodas per diem for fifty men*, and four pagodas when they employ a hundred men. These poor people get only *three pagodas per annum*, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work.”

This differs in two particulars from Master's narrative. The licensing fee that has to be paid is *two pagodas per diem* according to Tavernier, but according to Master, it is *three pagodas per mensem* up to forty men, and four or five pagodas, if more men are employed. In regard to the other point, their *annual earnings* are only *three pagodas per annum* according to Tavernier; Master notes that they receive *a pagoda and a quarter per mensem* in money and corn making 15 pagodas per annum. What is more he notes the appearance and condition of the workers good by direct observation. The Earl Marshall's paper published in 1677, just one year after the first edition of Tavernier's work itself, would go to show that Tavernier's statement is correct for the period that he recorded, and for the particular mine to which it has reference. If Nathaniel Cholmley were actually the source from which the Earl Marshall drew his information it is much more difficult to understand the inconsistency of statement which really becomes an inconsistency between Cholmley the diamond buyer and Master, almost his employer, who visited the mines at Gollapallee. The differences could not be altogether due to the differences of locality. One explanation seems possible. Tavernier's statement refers to a period when Abdullah Qutub Shah was the ruler, and the organisation of the mines and their work were those of Mir Jumla; whereas Master's notes have reference to a mine that actually was licensed to be worked by Abdul Hasan Qutub Shah, his successor, and the organisation may be those of his ministers, Madanna and Akkanna. In such a case, the difference may be explainable as being due to a really more liberal arrangement under the new ruler who perhaps improved upon the rackrenting arrangements under the previous regime, and it may well be so, as the Collapallee mines started work after the Kollur mines had ceased to yield.

Streynsham's Diary.

Mines : 9
Verasheroone.

Having finished what was thought necessary to be done in this visitation of these ffactorys, in the Morning about 8: a clock we sett forward upon our Journey to returne to Madraspatnam intending to go the upward inland way and make an Elbow to take a Sight of the Dimond Mines, we went this forenoone to Verasheroone¹ wch: is about 9: or 10: Miles from Madapollam those two places and Pollicull makeing a Traiangle, we viewed the Compas: two Houses at Verasheroon wch: stand one over against the other in one streete, both of them part fallen to the ground, and that wch: stands of them it was not safe to adventure in to see them, the compounds of the houses are small but well scituated, being raised high from the streets, above a Mile from the Towne, there is a very large Mangoe garden of the Compas: by wch: the Tent was pitched for us, but the Country Governours claiming the right to the fruit of the trees by reason we have neglected it, the Agent gave order to Mr Hatton to send 4: or 5: Peons from Madapollam every year about Mangoe season which is at this time of the yeare to watch the trees and gather the fruit to send to Madapollam thereby to preserve ye: Compas: right and title to the garden, there is allsoe two other small gardens nearer the Towne belonging to the Compa: but all lye wast and only the great trees standing to shade the cattle & travellers from the Sun, and these with many others that are (about) this Towne would very well accomodate Weavers to worke under if the place were rented of the King by the Compa:² and kept under their government wch: was now adjudged to be for the Compas: Interest, keeping only a Warehouse at Verasheroone, and the ffactory to continue at Madapollam, but the Towne of Verasheroone is now ruined and empty of People through the tyranny of the Government.

22½ Pente-
poll.

In the Morning by breake of day we parted with Mr: Hatton &ca: the ffactory that came to accompany us thus far on our way, and about noone we reached Pentepoll³ reckoned 2½ Gentue leagues.

27: Elloor.

We sett forward early in the night, and by 9: or 10 in the Morning came to Elloor 3: Gentue leagues, this Elloor is reckoned one of the greatest Townes in this Country, ye: King in his last progress comeing to see it, where are made ye best Carpetts after the manner of those in Persia, by a race of Persians wch: they told us came over above, 100: yeares agoe, the manner of makeing them we saw, and is in brief thus, the Loom is stretched right up and downe made of Cotton threads and the Carpett wrought upon them with the woollen yarne of severall collours by young boyes of 8: to 12: yeares old, a man with the Patterne of the worke drawne upon paper standing at the back side of the Carpett, and directing the Boyes that worke it, how much of each collour of yarne should be wrought in, and every thread being

¹ This is Viravasaram in Bhimavaram Taluq, Godavari District. Important Eng. Factory from 1635; only one person 1661; in decay 1668, and laid down 1674. Finally abandoned in 1702. (Temple Diaries of Sir Streynsham Master, II, pp. 170-7.)

² Mr Marshall gives a similar account in his notes and observations of East Indies. (Diaries of Sir Str. Master, Ed. by Sir Richard Temple, II, 170, n. 3.)

³ Pentapad in the Tanuku Taluq, Godavari District.

wrought they share it with a pair of Sizars and then proceed to the next⁴ at this place a Horse of the Compas: which wee tooke with us from Madapollam falling lame we left him here with one of our English men and a Peon to returne to Madapollam.

At Elloor we lodged in a house of Aga Jelolls whose Brother in law prepared us victualls, and gave us Hens and Sheep, to whome for his kindness and in respect to Aga Jelol who marryed his sister we presented 3: yards of Scarlett at parting.

About two a Clock in the morning we sett out of Elloor and about 7: arrived at Gullapelle⁵ upon the Dimond Mines & lodged in the house where Mr Cholmley made his invesmt: of Dymonds the last yeare, in the afternoone about 4: a clock we went to the Mines about a Mile and halfe out of Towne upon a Hill to see them digg and looke for the Dymonds, which is done after this manner, the ground is loose of a Redd fat sand and gravell, great and small Black Red and white stones,⁶ one or two of the **Miners loosen the Earth with an Iron grow⁷** and others with Iron Pawraes^{7a} or Spades heave it up to a heap from whence others with Basketts wind the small dust from it with the wind thence 'tis carryed to a troff made up of Stones and Earth and filled with water wch: is brought thither above a Mile upon Mens heads, where all the gross earth is washed away from the gravell, for the Earth melts like Sugar and runs out of a hole with the water, soe the gravell all remaines, that they carry thence and spread upon a smooth plaine place prepared for the purpose, where the same Men (that digg, dust and wash the Earth) sett all the heat of the day in a ranke one by another with their faces toward the Sun, looking for the Dymonds, and the Man that Imployes them setts over against them, to see that what they find they deliver to him, and in this manner they find the Dymonds in the same fashion and Shape as they are sold rough, and by what we observed the cost and labour of finding them countervailes the vallue and worth of the Dyamonds; Those that Imploy the Miners doe not buy the ground as some have reported, But they and any one that has a desire to imploy his Mony that way, first acquaints the Governour of the Mines with it, then he grants him license to spring a Mine where the Employer thinks best paying 3: pagos: P: Mensem if he Imployes now more then 10: 20: 30: 40: Men in it, if more then 4: and of some 5: pagos per Mensem ⁸ the miners

Easterday
ye: 184 Gulla-
pelle ye:
Dymond
Mines.
83: Miles.

⁴ Ellore still maintains this reputation for its carpets.

⁵ Gollapalle in the Nuzvid Zamindari 25 miles N. E. of Bezwada. See Mad. Presy. Sheet Atlas, Sheet 3.

⁶ "The pits are in gravelly laterite resting on sandstones" according to Biligrami and Wilmott Nizam's Dominions, I, p. 234.

⁷ Error for Crow used for crowbar in the 17th century.

^{7a} This word seems the Vernacular *pārē* meaning crowbar of a shorter length. *Pārē* in use in Tamil and Telegu corresponds to *Hārē* in Kannada.

⁸ In the mines at Ramallakotta, according to Tavernier "the merchants pay a duty of 2 pagos per diem for 50 men, and 4 pagos when they employ 100 men". (Tavernier, Crooke's Edn. II, 46). According to Thevenot, "the king exacted a pagoda every hour they work there whether they find any diamonds or no". Quoted in Biligrami & Willmott: the Nizam's Dominions, II, 505.

or those labourers that worke in the Mines are paid 1½ pago: P Mensem in mony and Corne,⁹ and this is all the charge the adventurer in the Mines is at, except it be that they over bid one another sometimes for a good peece of ground wch: one hath light upon & another hearing of it bids the Governour mony for it, and he that gives most has it; But besides the rent of 3: to 5: pagos: P: Mensem to the Governour for the King there is a custome or excise sett upon all Corne at about 50: P: cent. above the Markett, upon Salt, Beetle and Tobacco at above double and treble the Markett rate, and all the Miners and those that deale there (except a priviledged English Man or such like) are compelled to live upon the Mines in those Townes where that Excise is raised. The towne of Gullapelle tho within a mile and halfe of the Mines is without those limits, & therefore none of the Miners or Dealers in Dymonds are allowed to live there, but at Mellwillee¹⁰ about 4: or 5: Miles from Gullapelle, where the Governr: of the Mines lives, the whole rent of these Mines is reckoned to the King worth 60,000: pagos: P: ann: and as much more to the Governr: to bribe the Courtiers to hold the place, There was none of the Mines that we saw this day wch: were dugg above 3: foot deepe from the surface of the Earth, and most of them about two foot, the ground first overgrown with shrubs and Bushes wch: the Miners digg up with the Earth, these Mines lye upon a flat hill upon the top and on the side of it, where are found small and great Dymonds of good and bad waters but very little Bort,¹¹ and they say that ye adventurers in these Mines seldome loose in their undertakings.

This morning came severall of the most eminent Merchants from the Mines to visit us at Gullapelle, and to try how we were inclined to buy, at first they asked moderate rates, wch: when we bought they raised and afterward would not shew more but what they asked Dear for, soe we could not lay out 1000: pagos: amongst us all for feare of injuring ye: Markett; at 3: in the afternoone we sett out of Gullapelle, passed over the mines to Mellwillee and Raizpent¹² wch: is about 6: Miles, allmost all that ground being spread wth: Miners, and the Mines in the valleys were much deeper

⁹ "These poor people only earn 3 pags. per annum, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work" Crooke's Tavernier, II. 46.

¹⁰ This name appears as Mullally in sheet 94 of Indian Atlas The following extract from the Earl Marshall's paper of 1677 in the Philosophical Transactions gives the history of the mines. "Melwillee or the new mine, so called because it was but lately found out (or at least permitted to be made use of) in the year 1670, it had then a year employed the miners, but it was forbidden and lay unoccupied till 1673, when complaints being made at Quolear (Kollur), that the vein was worn out, the king again licensed its settlement. The earth they mine in, is very red and many of the stones found there have (some) of it sticking to them, as if it had clung there while they were of a soft glutinous substance and had not attained that hardness, maintaining its colour on its skin (to be roughened with it) that it cannot be fetched out by grinding or a rough stone with such seeming, which they make use of to clean them. The stones are generally well-shaped most of them have a thick dull skin, incline to a yellowish water not altogether so strong and lively as the other mines; very few of them of a crystallised water and skin. (Temple Master's Diary, 11, 173-74.)"

¹¹ Diamonds of a quality too coarse to be fit for jewellery.

¹² These places are neither of them found in the new Indian Atlas issued by the survey of India. Temple gives reference to sheet 94 as stated above, but the Atlas with me does not show it; nor does the route map of the Madras Presidency in Sheets.

than those upon the hills, being some of them 10: and 12: foot deep, and some mines were sprung upon ground where Corne had been sown and reaped a few months since, the Governr: of the Mines at Mellwillee sent to complement the Agent & excuse his not comeing out to meet him as he said he intended to doe, to wch: a civil answeare was returned; the two Townes at Melwillee and Raizpent upon the Mines are very large and populous, but the buildings all thatcht Hovells, the people are well favoured, well clothed, and looke as tho they fed well to undergoe their great and hott labour the Corne, &ca. be at excessive rates,¹³ and the place must needs be full of mony to pay 30: or 40,000: labourers in the Mines besides many others, the Dymonds being allsoe allwayes bought wth: ready Mony, the Country pleasant like England about London by Raizpent is a large pleasant greene valley full of flocks of Woolly Sheep, thence to Mustabad¹⁴ where Mustabad. we lodged this night, we travailed through a mountainous country, by very pleasant vallys wth: Tankes of water, and came to our Journeys end about 8: at night, having travailed two Gentue leagues.

Meriah Sacrifice in Orissa.

(By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.)

The Meriah was the victim offered by the Khonds of Orissa as a sacrifice to the Goddess of the Earth to ensure good crops and immunity from diseases and accidents. It was essential that this human animal of sacrifice should be purchased, or must be born of Meriah parents in order to be acceptable to the goddess. Thus arose a class of men whose business it was to entice and kidnap infants and children, and sell them to the Khonds in clandestine manner. The victim was regarded as a consecrated being; treated with scrupulous care and affection bordering on veneration, as one "dying that all the world may live", and was ultimately sacrificed. He was torn to pieces and heads of families scrambled for shreds of his flesh to fertilise their fields. The Khonds were perfectly satisfied that they were free from sin, as they bought the victim. They even looked upon him as a God capable of giving them abundant crops, good seasons, and health. Some tribes believed that the colour of the turmeric would not get a deep red without his blood. I would not analyse in this paper the complex tangle of the ideas of corn spirit, dying god, or human scapegoat underlying this sacrifice, but proceed with this short preamble to give an account of the sacrifice, its incidents, and the noble attempts of the British administration to suppress this horrible superstition with reference to the records I came across in the

¹³ Ball notes "We are told in the Earl Marshall's papers that in Golkonda the miners and merchants were much oppressed, and in a miserable state of poverty, from having to submit to tyrannical squeezing and heavy dutie on provisions tobacco and betel." (Crooke's Tavernier, II, 354.) If Mr. Nathaniel Cholmley is to be given responsibility for this statement, how is this to be reconciled with Mr. Master's?

¹⁴ A station on the Railway line between Bezwada and Ellore in the Nuzvid state.

office of the Political Agent and Commissioner of Orissa Feudatory States at Sambalpur and the Commissioner of Orissa at Cuttack.

Mr Tweeddale in his minute (9th November 1842) gives the Khonds of Ganjam the following character: "By the report (Macpherson's) it is quite clear that the creed of a Khond, whether in prosperity or adversity, looks to overcome his misfortunes, to increase his prosperity, by human sacrifice, after his land is prepared for receiving the seed . . . he has few pursuits except that of blood, either produced by human sacrifice or by war. In a savage state the one is the precursor of the other . . ."

Mr Ricketts, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals (in his letter No 396, dated the 23rd February 1837), submitted a long report (in 33 paragraphs) to the Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department on the practice of human sacrifice among the Khonds and suggested measures for its suppression. In reply to this letter Mr Ross D. Mangles, the Secretary, wrote to him (No 264, dated the 14th March 1837) that Government did not approve of "the annual progress of a military force under an officer vested with the power of summary punishment for suppression of human sacrifice . . . Immediate injunctions, however, were to be issued to the Raja of Duspalla and other Tributary Rajas having nominal authority over the Khond population expressive of the views of British Government and of its determination to do all in its power for effectual suppression of this atrocious practice".

Through the instrumentality of the Raja of Boad 2 boys and a girl, being Meriahs, were rescued from the Khonds in 1840 and in recognition of this good act Government made presents to the Raja of a pair of shawl, kincab, cloth, etc. The Raja continued to rescue Meriahs from the Khond Sardars and again he and the Raja of Duspalla were similarly rewarded for their co-operation. The rescued children were on each occasion made over to the care of the Rev. Mr Sutton of Cuttack and Government gave an allowance of Rs. 3 each for the children for boarding, clothing and education.

From an extract from the minutes of consultation under date the 10th December 1842, in which were read the correspondence of the Agent to the Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam (230, dated 28th January 1842, 540, dated 26th April 1842, 979 of 17th August), extract from the proceedings of the Fouzdary Adalat and the Minute of the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Elphinstone, and of the Most Hon'ble the President, we learn of the progress of measures adopted for the suppression of the crime among the Khonds in Ganjam.

We have an interesting report of Tehsildar Shiba Prosad Ray of Khundpara and the Soorathaul or Deposition taken by Mr Mills himself from the sacrificers and others dated 4th April 1843. In June he reported to the Secretary to Government in Judicial Department (No 1153, dated 2nd June 1843) the rescue of certain Meriah children and suggested the advisability of appointing a special officer as Assistant Superintendent for making annual tours in the Khond districts. The Under Secretary wrote

to the Superintendent (No 1144, dated the 27th November 1843) informing him that the Hon'ble the Deputy Governor of Bengal was "this day pleased to appoint Lieut. G. W. S. Hicks, 8th Regiment N. I. to the command of Khoorda and Balasore Paik Companies on a staff allowance of Rs. 200 per mensem and to vest that officer with the powers of an assistant to Superintendent of Tributary Mehals for the purpose of suppressing the practice of human sacrifice among the Khonds".

For the guidance of Lt. Col. Hicks, Mr A. J. M. Mills, the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals, sent him a copy of the proceedings held in a Meriah case by Lt. Col. J. R. Ouseley, Agent to the Governor General and Commissioner, South West Frontier. Ouseley informed him that one Mukundo Malick had been instrumental in making away with the nephew of one Sadho Ganda. He writes, "I explained to Dyteree and Mokundo and have done to all the Khond chiefs of Sonapur, Patna, Khurrior, Bindra Nowagurh and Bamra that if hereafter any persons be kidnapped and any human sacrifice takes place, they will be liable to capital punishment and the forfeiture of their estates for ever. May I request you to compel Mokundo to abide by his agreement to restore the young man Ramkisser?"

He also intimated the matter to Mr A. Turnbull, Under Secretary to Government of Bengal (No 4, dated 19th January 1844). Sadho Ganda was an inhabitant of Salabata in Patna District. Ramkissen was kidnapped six years ago and kept as a Meriah by a Khond of Boad. Ouseley had proposed to Government to be allowed to bring the Ramgurh Light Infantry and Irregular Horse with guns and proceed to extremities if they did not deliver all the Meriahs then in their possession. He issued notice to all the Khond chiefs pointing out the necessity of releasing all persons kidnapped for the sacrifice and the penalty for disobedience.

Mr Mills also sent to Lt. Hicks, a letter (No 91, dated the 19th March 1844) from Lt. Col. Ouseley to Mr A. Turnbull, and an enclosure of his proceedings in a particular case, which are very interesting. The enclosure contained translations of the deposition of one "Aochbo", a rescued Meriah, and the statements of Nubghan Mallik, Khond Chief, Lochna the woman who helped Neela in kidnapping Aochbo, Govind the uncle of the Meriah, Dalpat Rae, the Regent of Sonepoor and of the Raja of Boad.

It appears that "Meriahs were invariably destroyed before they attained majority or indeed at 16 or 17 or younger" (para. 5). In the selection from several of the Meriahs for sacrifice among a number of flags, fastened to bamboos, one is marked with a red cloth. On a Meriah touching this one, he or she is said to be accepted and sacrificed to the "Dhurnee", but the rest are simply *killed*, as it is described by Ramkissen.

Deposition of Govind Gwalla, dated the 28th December 1843.

Q. For what God is your nephew now detained?

Ans. I do not know what "Deota", but it is the custom there to get hold of children, and when fat and older, they sacrifice them by placing them

in split bamboos and killing them, they are squeezed to the ground, and all the villagers with axes, etc., cut off flesh, dancing and jumping about, whilst the victim is alive and quivering, and for this my nephew is kept.

Q. What God has such sacrifices?

A. In those fields where turmeric is grown they perform these sacrifices, and the Khonds sacrifice to them and other Gods also—all round the turmeric fields they bury the flesh of men

Deposition of Aochbo.

Q. Do they cut off the legs and the arms of Meriah?

A. Yes, both hands at the wrist, and they cut off all the flesh up to the elbow and also cut off the legs below the knee and all the flesh above up to the thighs. The head, the buttock and the breasts they do not cut off, they say "the head and the milk is the Raja's, the buttocks, the Ranee's."

Mr Mills sent moreover to Lt. Hicks a copy of the proceedings held by himself in another case of Meriah rescued by Lt.-Col. Ouseley, and further accounts of Meriah rites and instructions for operations.

There is a very interesting note written by Lt. Hicks conveying his sentiments on the measures proposed by Col. Ouseley, for suppression of human sacrifice. He also submitted a long report to Mr Mills (21st May 1844) giving an account of his expedition to Boad and Duspulla, the plans adopted by him in releasing human victims, his attempts to dissuade the Khonds from such vices, and his explanation to the Raja of Boad of the consequences of his evil associates, etc. He rescued 23 Meriahs, 11 boys and 12 girls. Mr Mills informed the Secretary to Government (18th June 1844) about Lt. Hicks' operations; also that the Raja of Boad had recovered 2 more Meriahs whom he had sent to Cuttack, and had apprehended and sent to him a man charged with selling children as Meriahs to the Khonds. From a list of rescued victims it appears that their age ranged between three and sixteen.

Under Secretary Mr P. Melville (Home Department, Judicial, dated the 23rd November 1844) informed Mr Mills about Government's disapproval regarding furnishing an escort of one company, under an European officer, from Regiment established at Cuttack to accompany Lt. Hicks on his approaching tour through the Khond country.

Mr Mills reported to Government (letter No 1280, dated the 16th June 1845) the measures adopted by Lt. Hicks for the suppression of human sacrifice in his "second mission into the Khond country of Boad and Duspallah". He assembled the Khond chiefs at Daspalla in the presence of the Raja. He writes: "They do not profess to have abolished sacrifices, but they affirm that in obedience to Government orders they have substituted animals for human beings." He got the cordial co-operation of the Raja to suppress the crime. The rite, if practised at all, had certainly lost its

publicity. "Where more than a hundred victims annually suffered, now but a few are killed in secret . . . In the killa we may with safety proclaim the abolition of the horrid rite and the determination of Government to inflict a just punishment on the transgressor". He proceeded to Raneegunge in Boad and reached the residence of a very influential Khond chief Madhava Koonwar whom he persuaded to abolish the Meriah rite. There was no sacrifice at Burgolcha. At Surmoonda he heard the music and recovered after 8 days the Meriah boy after much threat. The chief of Rattai Barai was contumacious.

Lt. Hicks rescued in February 1845, 12 Meriah children from Boad and Duspullah of whom 5 were restored to their friends 2 set at large and 5 placed in the charge of Rev. Mr Sufton, of Cuttack, who was the head of the Cuttack Mission School. In some volumes in the record room of the Collector of Cuttack we find receipts given by him for the money received for the maintenance and education of children rescued from the Khonds and placed under his charge, also certificates that "they were still alive" (Vol. No 229, receipt of Rs. 9 for three children, dated 4th May 1841, etc.) In Vol. 259 we have the recommendation of Mr William Brooks that "Sada, one of Government Meriah wards in Mission Asylum, be allotted the usual present of Rs. 18. On his honourable dismissal he may be capable of earning a comfortable subsistence in my service".

At Sambalpur there are also reports from Captain S. C. Macpherson, Acting Political Assistant Agent on Special duty to Mr R. A. Bannermann, Agent to the Governor of Fort St. George Captain Macpherson was deputed to suppress the rite amongst the Khonds in Ganjam and the neighbouring territories. He submitted a long report detailing his operations and conveying his sentiments. He was of opinion that the physical nature of the country and the moral character of the people precluded use of force as a primary measure for effecting this design as well as excluded the idea of direct proselytism. He got a list of procurers of victims. the Khond country of Boad and Gumsur being supplied to a great extent by Punwas of the adjoining Zemindaries of Nyaghur, Daspulla, and Boad. Operations should not be limited to the Ganjam countries only. He suggested giving joint jurisdictions to the criminal tribunals of Ganjam and Cuttack over the procurers. Force was to be used as a secondary means. A road should be opened from Goomsur to Sonepur—Sambalpur. Co-operation of the patriarchs should be secured by gifts, honorary privileges, by rendering the priesthood neutral and employing the Khonds in semi-military service. The Khonds of Baramootah promised to relinquish human sacrifice upon certain conditions, *viz.*, receipt of justice and immediate protection of Government; and permission to sacrifice buffaloes, monkeys, goats, etc., to their deities with all solemnities now attending human sacrifice. He suggested establishment of relations with the tribes as subjects, and for the nearer tribes procuring submission to laws and practical admission of British supremacy. There are several minutes by him in the Political Agent's office.

It appears that in 1847 the Raja of Boad and the Raja of Unghole did not co-operate and Captain Macpherson was too harsh to the former. Mr J. P. Grant, Commissioner for enquiry in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, and agent for the suppression of human sacrifice and female infanticide, was appointed to enquire into the Captain's conduct. In 1855 and 1856 Lt. A. C. McNeil was in charge of Meriah Agency in the Hill Tracts of Orissa. He reported (15th December 1855) that with the help of the Tehsildar of Boad he got the surrender of the Khonds near Ooraladhoney.

There are also records in Sambalpur relating to the abolition of the agency for the suppression of Meriah sacrifice and infanticide in Khondmals (1862-64) and to alleged human sacrifice in Ranpur (1867-68).

In the record room of the Commissioner of Cuttack are to be found very important documents relating to the sacrifice, *e.g.*, Mr Ingle's Return dated the 23rd December 1837, Lt. Macpherson's Report on the Khonds of the districts of Ganjam and Cuttack (very interesting to the anthropologists) forming the enclosure of letter No 1470, dated 26th November 1841, from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Commissioner and Superintendent Tributary Mahals, Cuttack, extract from Mr Russel's Report dated 11th May 1837 (para. 64), Mr Bannerman's Report of 23rd December 1837, Lt. Hill's Report of 2nd July 1838, Elphinstone's Minute of the 16th March, 1841, Minute recorded by the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor, all forming enclosure of a letter (No. 63, dated 3rd May 1841) from Mr T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India to the Commissioner of Cuttack, from which we learn of the deputation of an officer to the Raja of Calahandy, prevalence of the sacrifice among the Gonds in the wild jungles on the borders of Chutteesgarh, sacrifice of 27 full grown men by the Raja of Bustar 14 years ago; sacrifice to the goddess Thada Pennoo (the Earth) in Gumsur, etc.

I will conclude this paper with some quotations from Mr Mill's able minute on the Tributary Mahals (Vol. No 157) written in 1847. He framed a rule for abolishing the practice of suttee and human sacrifice in the States and declared that all persons who aided and abetted such practices would be guilty of culpable homicide. "I need not detail the proceedings of my assistant, Captain Hicks, in his endeavours to induce the Khonds to forego the barbarous and unholy rite; conciliation was relied on, as the sole instrument for effecting it, but it was only partially successful; when argument ceases to operate, demonstration of (and if unavoidable an appeal to) force is required, but Captain Hicks was denied even an escort, and his missions therefore lost the impression they would have created, if he had been accompanied by a small number of Troops. Considering we have to deal with the prejudices of a whole population, to suppress a time honoured rite, sanctified by their religious faith, is it surprising that the Khonds would not tacitly submit to an interference, involving as that interference does, the destruction of all that is cherished and revered by them? Justice was not, I think, done to Captain Hicks' exertions.

Captain MacPherson's first campaign was not successful. The Boad Khonds voluntarily agreed to give up the sacrifice, and to submit to the general authority of Government; but it is said that the Rajah and his uncle impressed them with the idea that the Government cared nothing about the sacrifice; and only wanted to tax the hill country, and would moreover give up that, if a general demonstration of resistance were made. They rose accordingly, attacked Captain MacPherson and compelled him to give up the children he had rescued, and to leave the country. The Khonds, on the other hand, maintain that the seizure of their adopted children and ploughmen as 'meriahs', and the fear of taxation by the Raja, drove them to resist; but whatever the cause may have been, which stirred them to revolt, I feel convinced from what I learnt in my late visit to Angool, that they were keeping up their resistance, not for the sake of maintaining the atrocious rite, which they appear to have made up their minds to give up, but for the protection of their rights and privileges, which they ignorantly imagine it is the desire of Government to aid the Rajah in abrogating. I induced the youngest son of Nubbogun Khouro to give himself up and the Raja of Angool to aid us, instead of the Khonds whom he had been supporting in a manner to make them so presumptuous as to plunder one of the Gumsur villages . . . The Rajah of Angool has executed an agreement not to aid the Boad Khonds nor to afford any asylum in his country to Chukro Bissoee, a nephew of Dore Bissoee, the principal Chief of Gumsur, and leader of the late insurrection there, nor to any of the Boad or Duspalla Khonds—Chakra Bissoee has lived in Angool since 1837 and is now said to have joined Bir Khouro."

The Bihar and Orissa Records— the Range and the Nature of their Contents.¹

(By Kamal Krishna Basu, M.A.)

In 1924, the Government of Bihar and Orissa gave their sanction to the preparation of a handbook of provincial records. This handbook should follow generally the model of the handbook to the records of the Government of India in the Imperial Record Department, published in 1925. The Government requisitioned the valuable and expert services of Prof (now Sir) J. N. Sarkar, and entrusted the work in question to him. The preliminary work in connection with the work of compilation, and the survey of historical records of the Province was done by two M. A.'s of some years' standing under the guidance of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, for a period of about two years. They proceeded to all the divisional and almost all the district headquarters of the Province of Bihar and Orissa and hunted through the archives of the Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners or the District Officers' Record Rooms as the case may be, for old documents and records. The work of examining,

¹ The writer expresses his gratitude to Principal K. P. Mitra, M.A.B.L., of Monghyr College for his supplying to him some materials in connection with this paper.

This paper was considered in paragraph VIII of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting, see p. 180 below.

classifying and indexing the documents that seemed to be of historical importance necessitated and enjoined no small amount of their time and labour. They had to wade through the Saragossa sea of old papers, full of dust and an easy victim to the ravages of time and the mischievous white ants. The notes made from and the reports submitted on the records have been preserved in the office of the Revenue Secretary (Bihar and Orissa), and orders have been issued for the compilation of a Handbook of Provincial Records on their basis.

The local Government, in its original letter, ordered the records down to 1800 to be investigated, and therefore as a rule no notes were taken of records of a later date than 1801 A. D. Sometimes we had to travel beyond that period for important papers regarding revenue rules and trade matters. Again, the records preserved in the Commissioner's office, Ranchi, were so full, copious and interesting that the deputed officer was forced to proceed far beyond the first decade of the 19th century, even so far as the fifties of that century.

I shall take up the records of each district one by one, and shall try to describe the range and nature of their contents.

Angul.—Angul was farmed into a scheduled district under Act XIV of 1874, and is now a separate district under Regulation I of 1894. Therefore the District record room at Angul does not contain any record of the 18th or of the 1st half of the 19th century A. D.

Arrah.—In the record room of Arrah Collectorate the letters—received date from 1782, and letters—issued from 1781 A. D. There are 25 vols. of letters—received, dating from 1782-1800 A. D., and 18 vols. of letters—issued, from 1781-1800 A. D.

Balasore.—On the capture of Cuttack from the Marathas by the company, on 10th October 1803, Orissa passed under British rule and Balasore was made a centre of quasi-military administration with Captain Morgan as officer commanding, but subsequently as Collector Magistrate and Salt and custom's agent. From 1805 to 1821 Balasore was administered from Cuttack, and was formed into an independent collectorate in 1827.

The English correspondence in the Magistrate's Record Room beginning from 1803 amounts to nearly 216 volumes. Of these 136 volumes contain letters received (111 of them being pre-mutiny) and 80 volumes contain letters issued (62 of them being pre-mutiny). Besides these, there are 32 volumes containing the circulars of the Board of Revenue from 1789 to 1864.

Volume I contains letters relating to the Pergannas Puttaspore (known as the Marath Pergunnas). These Pergannas Puttaspore, Kamardachaur, Bhograee were conquered from and ceded by Raghoojee Bhonsla and belonged to the District of Midnapur.

Volume II contains letters between October 1803 and October 8th, 1805, relating to the adoption of a policy of conciliation towards the Hill Chiefs, e.g., Mohurbhunge, Neelgiri; an apprehended entry of the Marathas into the Province of Cuttack by Ungool pass. Other subjects referred to are con-

cerning Post duties, price of Salt, construction and repairs of bunds and embankments, purchase of rice to meet scarcity at Cuttack, annexation of the country of the Khoorda Raja to the territories of the Hon'ble Company.

Volume VI contains custom letters (February 1806—May 1814), relating to duties levied on imports and exports: plan for collection of customs, etc.

Volume VII contains interesting references to the following kinds of coins mentioned in the statement of the amount of collections, *viz.*, Sicca, Sonaut, French rupees, Gursane rupees and Nocra rupees.

Volume XI (February 1819—September 1820) deals with the Indigo factory at Jellasore: principal articles and rate and nature of duty thereon: circular abolishing evil custom of Begarees.

Volume XV contains *inter alia* remarks on Sutte Reports and statement for the year 1821, a letter in Arabic (with translation) from the Sultan of the Maldiv Islands representing difficulties of inhabitants coming from these places to Balasore for trade.

Volume XVI contains among other things a report about uncovenanted Europeans in the employ of Government.

Volume XVIII (August 1820—August 1831) contains marine correspondence for the northern division of Cuttack.

Volume XXII deals with statement of duties collected of piece goods, raw cotton and silk, the manufacture and produce of the Company's territories from 1809-10 to 1822-23 silk piece goods, mixed cotton and piece goods.

Volume LV is a very important volume containing a report written by H. Ricketts, Collector of Balasore in October 1831 to George Stockwell, Commissioner of Revenue for the 19th Division Cuttack on the several kinds of tenures,—Zemindari, Mokudamee, Surberakaree, Putwaree (or Karjee), Kheredgee, Thane, Tenants at will, etc.

Volume LXIII contains an account of the terrible miseries and loss of life sustained by the Mahals on the sea coast from hurricane and irruption of the sea on 31st October 1832 and arrangements proposed by Mr H. Ricketts.

Volume LXVIII dealing with the same subject shows the effects of the storm on the condition of the people and other incidental matters. Vol. LXIX contains among other matters, a report on the settlement of the Province of Cuttack.

Volume LXXXVII (12th January 1836—31st December 1838) contains letters and circulars received by the Magistrate of Balasore. The following important records are also in this volume, establishment of steam communication by way of Red Sea with England: convict labour: Donnelley's Report on defective laws to punish oppressive Indigo planters.

Volume CLXVI (1848—1850) contains among other things records relating to the holding of Half-yearly Examination of pupils of Bhudrak vernacular school.

Volume CCCXLVII (1871) treats of illegal exactions of Zemindars such as Dakkhurch, Ruth-khurch, Peada-khurch, Begar Bundbusti, Tahsil khurch, etc.

Bhagalpur.—The record room of Bhagalpur collectorate contains a vast and voluminous collection of English correspondence. They date so early as the seventies of the eighteenth century, corresponding to the period when the Hon'ble East India Company after the grant of the Diwani of Bengal had just emerged from irresponsible traders to responsible administrators. All these records throw a flood of light on the history of the district at the first dawn of Company's rule.

Most of the papers are settlement records, made by the supervisors, native agencies, collectors, etc. Besides these there are still preserved in double locks, the documents of settlements made by Hoshiyar Jung, who may be identified with George Vansittart. There are also to be found pool-bundi accounts. The term Pool-bundi means the construction and repairs of Pool or bridges by the Zamindars. Next to these, we come across an account of European settlers of Bhagalpur especially during the war with Chait Singh, Rajah of Benares, price current of grains and foodstuffs; the measures adopted by Mr Cleveland to bring under his control, the *Jungle Terry*, the Kharackpore chief and the Santhal chiefs by lavishly feeding, clothing and distributing honours to them. A letter dated 1st August 1783 from the District officer of *Boglipore* (*i.e.*, the old name of Bhagalpur in official letters) to John Shore, President of Committee of Revenue, Fort William, refers to the history of an educational institution at Bhagalpur. This letter relates at length the origin of the Boglipore Seminary founded by Moulana Shah Bauz Mahomed during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir; traces the history of the condition of this Seminary under Shah Bauz's successors and mentions the name of the various Mughal Emperors who patronized it by their grant of land and *rozena*, and the amount of the grant made. An account of the monthly expenditure requisite for the running of the Seminary is also to be found. The letter, thus, throws no doubt, a new and at the same time an important light upon a very old educational institution now in oblivion but once an important centre for imparting education to the people living at Bhagalpur.

Again, we come across, the Letters-issued, two letters—the one dating 5th July 1792, and the other, 1st November 1792—that give us an idea of the administration of justice at Bhagalpur during the early British rule. The former gives a report of persons by whom the “Zilah Cawzy office” is held in the district of Bhagalpore, and the latter supplies us with an account of “cawzees” stationed in the district of Bhagalpore.

Muhammad Laick the chief kazi of Bhagalpur exercised double functions. He was, (a) the kazi of the Fouzdari Department, and (b) the kazi in *ull kuzaat* Department: here he witnessed deeds, performed marriages, etc. The former office he executed in person, and the latter by four *principal Naibs* whose headquarters were at Bhagalpur, Colgong, Bihpore and Gogri. The principal Naib of Bhagalpur had five inferior naibs at Jubbarchuk, Champagnagar, Munneyharri, Barkope and Dakhilcoonge. The Naib of Colgong was helped by three assistants at Mudbaun, Sultangunge and Berary. The Naib

of Bihpore had likewise three assistants at Muddadeis, Seydaband and Madheley. The Naib of Gogri (Turkeya) had also under him three inferior naibs: but their stations are not known.

Besides the above two important documents, we also discern records furnishing particulars relative to Europeans not in the service of the Company. The earliest of these documents dates 11th February 1797. The majority of such settlers are English, and only a few Polish. They are mostly indigo-manufacturers, having their plants erected at Bhagalpore, Peallapore, Pointy, Colgong, Luttypore, Monghyr, and various other places of the district.

Again, the portions of Captain Sherwill's statistical account of the Zilah Bhagalpore from the letter of E. F. Lantour, collector *Bhaugulpore*, dated 24th October 1854, give us geographical and other important accounts of the whole district.

The account of the tour made by G. Loch, the Collector in 24th February 1852, through the pergannahs Chye, Nursingpoor, Koorah and Mululeegopal to the north of the Ganges is very valuable and interesting. It gives a description of the nature of the country, its produce, road system and the condition of the ryots of those parts.

Mr E. F. Lantour, Collector, *Bhaugulpore*, in his letter dated 10th May 1855, addressed to the Commissioner of Revenue, *Bhagulpore*, gives an account of his tour in the interior of the district during the cold season. It gives a very interesting account of the country lying along the banks of the Ganges towards Sultangunj, about the condition of the ryuts, the inhabitants of the place and other topics of interest.

The Collector of *Bhagulpore*, in his letter dated the 7th September 1787 to John Shore, the President of the Board of Revenue, transmits particulars of the history of the Zemindars of *Bhagulpore*. In this account we come across the origin and history of about thirty-four Zemindars. The Zemindaries referred to are, Akbarnager, Ruzaakpore, Pooranadeis, Burkope, Shawpore, Mundar, Dakhilcunge, Niadeis, Sujanagur, Husseinabaud, Jeytpore, Chandee pah, Champanagur, Munnyharry, Mahals of Curruckpore, Purgunnah Turkeya, Purgunnah Chye, Turf Ragonaut Sing, Purgunnah Havily Monghyr and so forth.

Bhagalpore Commissioner's record room.—In India commissionerships came into being by the Regulation I of 1829. Consequently we cannot expect here records older than this date. Besides most of the records at the Commissioner's office are nothing but copies of the records of the Collectorate. The only important documents to be found here are the papers relating to the Santal insurrection of 1855-57. They relate the circumstances that led to the revolt, and the attempt made by the authorities to suppress it. A large body of Sonthals had assembled on the 4th July 1855 to the south of Rajmahal hills. They had collected from Beerbhoom, Bancoora, Chota Nagpur and Hazaribagh to the number of 6,000 or 7,000, for the purpose of avenging the punishment inflicted on their comrades for the last year's dacoities. These dacoities were committed on the Bengali Mahajans who had oppressed them

and they complained that their comrades had been punished while nothing had been done to the Mahajans whose exactions had compelled them to take the law into their own hands. March of Major F. Burroughs (10th July) with 163 rank and file.—March of 40th Regiment N. I. with 500 rank and file under Major Shuckburg from Dinapore. March of Lieut. Gordon with 40 or 45 Hill Rangers on board the steamer “Megna”—200 men of the 7th Regiment came upon 5,000 men of the rebels near Pakour and routed them. (21st July 1855)—Captain Francis and 250 men of the 13th Regiment marched towards Bowsee (28th July 1855)—and so on.

Chapra.—The record room of the district officer of Saran contains correspondence from 1779. Most of these appertain to settlement: we also come across the references to Sheohur Raja. 22 bound volumes contain letters sent from the District Officer during 1779 to 1799 A. D. Three volumes contain letters received during the period 1794—1805 A. D.: and there are 7 volumes of correspondence relating to criminal matters between 1793 and 1799 A. D.

Chaibassa.—The correspondence does not date prior to 1833 A. D., and proceed as far as 1872. Most of these are printed, and belong to the class of orders, circulars, memos., etc. The total number of volumes containing such matters is 30.

Cuttuck.—Cuttuck was acquired by the British in the treaty of Deogaon with the Raja of Berar on September 17, 1803. The records in the office of the Commissioner and the Collector of Cuttuck, are copious, and they date from 1805 A. D. Some of these deal with failure of crops on account of drought and inundation, suspension of *sati* rites, suppression of Meriah sacrifice, a list of establishment for the police thana between Cuttuck and the borders of Ganjam district, for the relief of landholders and accommodation of travellers; articles subject to the payment of duty.

The report of the Commissioner of Cuttuck dated 20th December 1814 contains a detailed and interesting account of the territory, the produce and the rajahs of twenty-seven Garhjhat Tributary Mahals in Cuttuck.

The report dated 2nd March 1818 of the Deputy Collector, Government House, Balasore gives an account of the amount of duties on exports and imports, since the first conquest of Cuttuck by the British down to the year 1817 A. D.

The resolution of the Hon'ble Vice-President in Council in the Judicial Department, dated 28th April 1818 deals with matters regarding the future administration of Zilah Cuttuck.

The letter dated 4th September 1818 gives an account of the establishments of the Joint Magistrate and the Additional Registrar of Cuttack.

The report, dated 25th June 1820 of Henry Shakespear, Acting Superintendent of Police in the lower Provinces relates to the state of police in Cuttuck for 1819.

W. L. Melville, Acting Magistrate, Zilah Cuttuck, in his report dated 3rd February 1820 submits a report of *Suttees* for the past year.

There are some letters which deal with the condition of Vernacular Schools in the Cuttuck Division. Volume No. 157 in the record room of the Commissioner contains a minute on the Tributary Mahals written by A. J. M. Mills in 1847 who gives a summary account from the beginning. There are other volumes besides, viz., 14 (a), 47 and 48 containing letters issued from 1814 to 1831 and volumes 117, 118 for 1853 and 1854. In volume No 150 is found the settlement Memorandum for Killah Bankee dated 25th September 1844 by Mr Mills.

I now give some specimens of the nature of papers relating to the Tributary Mahals in the record rooms of the Commissioner and Collector at Cuttack.

Statement of Mahals of the Tributary Rajahs whose *perish kush* (tribute) was fixed permanently. Engagements with the Rajah of Nilgiri and the Zamindar of Chhedra. Engagements with Rajas whose independence was guaranteed by the Government—Boad Sonepur and Sambalpur. Dispute regarding succession in the Mohurbunge State. Report regarding the actual state, character and disposition of the several Rajahs: manners and habits of people. Right of succession—course of procedure to be adopted to settle the disputed claim to succession of the Hill Tributary Rajah of Dhenkanaul—right of succession in Ungool, in Koojung, in Mohurbunge and consequent disturbances. Disputes between Rajas of Gumsur and Neelgheer. Pensions and allowances to Rani Mookta Dhy of Sambalpur and assignment of Panchgur (in Khoordah) to her. Rebellion and disturbances in Khoorda and Coojang in 1817, and their causes. Enrolment of Killa Bankee as a government Estate on the District Tauzi.

The letter dated 2nd June 1843, from A. J. M. Mills, Superintendent, Tributary Mahals gives a report of his proceedings regarding the rescue of some “*Merna*” children from the Khunds of Boad and Duspullah.

The letter dated 23rd February 1844 to Lieut. G. Hicks, Commandant of Paik Companys and Assistant Superintendent of Tributary Mahals vests him with the power for the purpose of suppressing the practice of Human sacrifices, and stating the best mode for giving effect to the orders of Government as a commencement of operations in the present season.

The letter dated 25th November 1846 from the Assistant Commissioner, Cuttuck, deals with the account of Lieut. Hick’s second mission into the Khund country for the purpose of endeavouring to suppress the practice of human sacrifice.

We also come across very valuable papers relating to the disturbances in Purgunnah Bhograi, from 1783 to 1816. These documents contain statements of numerous acts of violence and plunder committed in *Bhograi* (“*boggrae*”) by the Chooars and of ineffectual attempts to seize the ring-leaders or to protect the villages by military force.

Darbhangra.—The English correspondence here preserved begins from 1785 A. D. mainly relating to Settlements and the Darbhanga and Bettiah Raj. Besides, there are to be found good many records in Persian kept in

bundles. These relate to a period before 1800 A. D. and they are mainly concerned with settlements. We come across *Minhai* Registers and papers relating to the Permanent settlement. There is also a copper plate inscription dated Fasli 807, Vikram Sambat 1455, Lakhan Sambat 272, relating to a gift of land (village Biswi) in purgunnah Jurail, District Saran, made by Maharaj Sheva Singh to Vidyapati Thakur.

Gaya.—The District of Gaya was formed out of parts of the old districts of Behar and Ramgarh in 1825. The English correspondence in the Gaya Collectorate Record room begin from 1858 A. D.

Hazaribag.—The records in Hazaribag are very modern and of little historical importance. The correspondence dates from 1833. Letters received, 1833-1864, form 134 volumes. Letters issued, 1834-1876, form 54 volumes. There is a press-list of the former. There are, under double lock, two bound volumes; (a) a settlement register of the Ramgarh Estate, for 1168-1197 Fasli year, in Persian, and, (b) a form filed by Maharajah Sambhu Nath Singh 1843-1900 Sambat with a brief history of the founder of the Estate in Devanagari.

Monghyr.—There are 17 volumes containing (English) correspondence received and 90 volumes of letters issued. In the letter-received the first volume dates 1771-1772-1773 A. D. The second volume begins from 1810 A. D. Thus, there seems to be a big gap from 1773 to 1810. The letters issued begin from 1832 A. D.

The letters received are mainly miscellaneous, settlement, Transfer of jurisdiction, Abkary and stamps, sale, invalid jagirs, etc.

The letters issued deals with miscellaneous matters, repayments and deposits, statement of prisoners confined or released, statement of pending Batwarrahs, Quarterly Tauzi statements, Court of Ward's statements, history of *wyranah* mahals (volume 37, 1836 to 38 A. D.) Price statements and so on.

The following documents are of historical importance.

Farming out of the several pergannahs such as Nurhot Samoy, Havily Monghyr, Curruckpore, Cudgerah, Melky Belliah, Coossarah and Giddore. (6th July, 1771). Appointment of Ganga Bishen as Peshkar in the Dist. of Monghyr on the part of Raja Sitabroy (13th August 1771 A. D.)

Despatch of sepoy to apprehend Persann Sing and Duttoo Sing the Saidar dacoits of the District of Monghyr. 21st September 1772.

Abolition of Zamindari duties and Chowkies, 3 December 1772. Reduction of troublesome Jaggernaut Daw and ridding the border of the District of such a destructive neighbour. Appointment of Dund Bahadur as Renter. 22nd July 1773. Annual report upon the Vernacular School at Monghyr, 12th March 1847.

Report upon Purgunnah Abbhepur, Zilah Monghyr granted by Ali Vardhi Khan, Subedar of Bengal in the first year of the reign of Ahmad Shah to Shah Gholam Moulah for useful and religious purposes.

Separation of the Fiscal and judicial branches in Zilah Monghyr.—Mr Hodgson was appointed the Magistrate, and Mr Vansittart, the Collector of Monghyr. 24th December 1842.

Adoption of *nagree* for Persian in Revenue and judicial proceedings, 26th May 1838.

Registered localities of all known coal beds in *Bhaugulpore* situated within the *Damin-i-Koh* or Rajmahal Hills, as known in 1851. (13th May 1854.)

Proclamation declaring the Sonthals to be rebels against the Government and offering rewards for the apprehension of their ringleaders. (23rd July 1855.)

Plundering of Calcutta Mail by Santhals (15th September 1855).

Motihari.—In the Collectorate record room the English correspondence begins from 1819 A. D., and most of these relate to the boundary dispute between the British Government and the Nepal Raj. Records prior to 1800 A. D. are merely settlement applications and orders. They are all in Persian and lie scattered in a number of bundles.

Muzafferpur.—When the *Subah* of Behar was ceded in 1765, the part north of the Ganges was divided into 4 *Sarkars* of Saran, Champaran, Tirhoot and Hajipur. In 1774 Tirhoot was made subordinate to the Provincial Council at Patna. Mr Francis Grand was appointed the first Collector of Tirhoot in 1782. The Collector's record room contains a very large number of old English correspondence, kept in separate volumes. The letters-received begin from 1782 A. D. and the letters-issued from 1787. There are 12 volumes of letters-issued (1787—1800 A. D.) and 102 volumes of letters-issued from 1802—1879; 29 volumes of letters-received (1782—1800) and 195 volumes of letters-received from 1801—1863. Here I refer to some of the records of historical importance.

Pressing men as coolies (11th July 1782): abolition of tax on horses (31st May 1782); prohibition of alienation of lands by Zemindars (31st May 1782): fining Mr Grand, the Collector, for non-submission of accounts; realisation of arrears from Maharaja Callian Singh; Bushby's letter to Warren Hastings regarding jaigirs and rent-free lands; weights and measures (4th February 1788); rate of interest paid by ryots (12th May 1788); species of Rupees circulating throughout the District, 12th May 1788; Establishment for carrying dawk, 10th September 1798; statement of Native officers employed in the Collectorate, 15th April 1789; Stationery used in the Tirhoot Collectorate, 28th April 1789; Estimate of population (27th September 1790); collection of revenue in Sarkar Tirhoot (1st February 1790); Exports and imports to and from Napaul (2nd February 1792); statements of fixed and established charges (16th June 1792); state of public road in the district (3rd September 1794); cattle in Tirhoot District (21st April 1795); price of grains in the *gunge* of Muzafferpur (4th April 1796); duties on Ferries (1796); Tax assessed in the District of Tirhoot for defraying police expenses (10th April 1794). Europeans not in Company's service (4th February 1788); State of the District

(27th October 1791); statement of indigo works (13th February 1793); Nepal wars (1814-17).

The Commissioner's Record Room.—The English records in the Commissioner's Record Room are very modern and they are kept in bundles. They may be classified into—(1) General Department letters (from 1896), (2) Revenue (1896), (3) Wards (1881), (4) Judicial (1905) and Vernacular Department (1897).

There are also 79 Bastas of Persian records relating to partition, sale case, settlement report, civil suit, etc.

Palamau.—There are no records of historical importance.

Patna.—In the district collectorate record room there are no records of the 18th century (except a bundle of applications by holders of small plots of land made at the Permanent Settlement of 1793).

In the record room of the Board of Revenue (Secretariat office) there are 18th century English Correspondence. There are 467 vols. of letters—Received and Issued—from 1772—1798 A. D. In addition to these there are also 10 vols. containing Proceedings of the Provincial Council from 1771—1774, and 47 vols. containing letters relating to Sayer, etc.

Purneah.—The Purneah Collectorate contains sixteen bound volumes of English correspondence.

Purulia.—In the Deputy Commissioner's record room the English correspondence begins from 1857 A. D., because all records prior to the Mutiny were burnt by the Mutineers. The letters from 1857 to 1860 form 20 bundles.

Ranchi.—The record room of the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur is full of old English Correspondence of the 18th and 19th centuries. The papers begin from 1789; they are very important and have a great value. They disclose an interesting chapter in the history of the Chota Nagpur Division and from this point of view are objects of supreme interest to the historian no less than to the Anthropologist. The reports and tour diaries of the several Agents to the Governor General and their Principal Assistants teem with interests, and throw a flood of light on the topography, ethnology, political and economic history of Chota Nagpur. There are also papers relating to the Nepal war and the part that was played in it by Major Roughsedge and the Ramghur Battalion; the papers connected with the Sepoy Mutiny are quite refreshing and altogether new in matters of details. The records dealing with the history of the Tributary Mahals of the South-Western Frontier Agency and their relations with the British Government disclose facts that are interesting.

Some important records are referred to below:—

Expulsion of Hurry Ram Shahy and the Marathas (December 1795): Plundering raid of the Chuars in the pergunnahs of Kurrunpoora and Jug-gissar in Ramaghur (9th May 1783); Entry of Marathas in Chota Nagpur (17th April 1794); History of the tenure of Villages Assoreah and Mahesmorada in

Chakla Pachete (18th April 1789); operation of 10,000 Maratha horse under Deen Shahy and the state of affairs at Sirgoojah and Mahree (25th October 1803); Apprehension of Antuji Naik, the Agent to the Raja of Berar in Khurda (13th February 1805); state of affairs at Sambalpur (10th March 1806); measures for the tranquillity of the Pergunnah of Patcom (16th August 1807); Tamar attacked by Choars (24th December 1807); Apprehension of Deccaney Shahy, the Choar jageerdar (22nd January 1808); Arrival of Chundajee Bhonsla, Tantia Sardar and Kashee Ram at Sambalpur with a force of 5,000 horse and 700 men (24th February 1810); on Pindaries (21st March 1812); Death of Raghojee Bhonsla and the succession of his son Balla Shahib as Raja Pursojee Bhonsla (23rd March 1816); Larka Coles in Singbhoom (21st March 1820); John Davidson's report (29th August 1839) relating to the manners and customs of the aborigines of Chota Nagpur, Major Roughsedge's report on Singbhoom (9th May 1820), attacks by Lurkas (17th February 1821); Roughsedge on Singbhoom (2nd April 1821) and (14th April 1821); Major Roughsedge's report (April 1821) on Bindra Nowagurh, Khurrier and Patna.

Major J. R. Ousley's observations on the state of various districts visited in course of his tour of the Political portion of the Agency (18th November 1840).

Major Ousley's reports on the political portion of South-Western Frontier Agency (9th August 1842), (30th November 1844), (15th May 1847), (25th November 1848).

J. Simpson's tours in Hazaribag Division (1851-1852, 1852-1853).

Major E. T. Dalton's report (26th November 1861) on the Political relations of the British Government with the Native States or Tributary Mahals within the jurisdiction of the South-Western Frontier Agency as established under Reg. XIII of 1833.

Edward Seismore's tour in Singboom Division, 1856-57, Cole-Peers of Singboom and Bamunghatty, and rules for the administration of criminal justice in the Colehan (13th May 1837).

W. Dent's report on the disturbances in Barrabhum and the neighbouring parganas (4th September 1833).

Measures adopted for the suppression of insurrection of the Lurka Coles in Singbhoom (G. Whimton, Secretary to Government, 24th March 1821).

Lt. J. M. Graham's report, dated 8th February 1858, concerning the disturbances and various events which have taken place in Palamau since the beginning of August last. Captain T. Wilkinson's (Governor General's Agent) report, dated 22nd August 1836, stating the circumstances which led the British Government to form relations with Singbhoom and the events which have subsequently occurred not only in Singbhoom but also in Bamunghatty up to the present period.

Letter of E. Roughsedge, Agent, Governor General, dated 23rd June 1821 to S. T. Cuthbert, Magistrate, Zilah Ramgurh relating to the Raja of Tamar.

E. Roughsedge's report (dated 31st March 1820) on the occurrences of his march through the districts called Lurka Cole.

Col. E. T. Dalton's report (21st June 1858) on the conduct of the principal Jagirdar of Palamau during the recent disturbances in that district especially noticing those who displayed conspicuous loyalty to the British Government and zealously co-operated with the authorities in restoring order.

Col. E. T. Dalton's report (9th December 1864) dealing with " Tenures " and the precise duties that the Zamindars undertook to perform.

Papers relating to the Nepal War from 20th November 1814—12th February 1816.

Papers relating to the Mutiny of the Ramghur Battalion from 21st July 1857 to 13th October 1859.

Sambalpur.—Narayan Singh, the Raja of Sambalpur, dying without any male issue in 1849 the country was annexed by the British in pursuance of Lord Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse. The correspondence of the Deputy Commissioner's Record room date from 1851 A.D. Most of the letters are kept in files.

(A) Letters Issued—

- (1) A bound volume of 373 pages containing copies of letters issued by the Principal Assistant Agent Governor General, Sambulpur, from 3rd March 1851 to 5th July 1853.
- (2) A bound volume of 157 pages, dating from 20th June 1853 to 17th August 1854.
- (3) Abstract of English correspondence from 1861 A.D. to 1911, nearly 160 volumes. Letters between 1854 and 1861 are found wanting.

(B) Letters Received—

All are kept in files, numbering 27. These correspondence date from 1852 to 1883.

(C) The following important files require notice:—

- (i) Papers relating to the conspiracy of Soorendar Sai, 1863 (Office No. General XII-18-a).
- (ii) relating to the release of Dhrup Sai and Mitrabhanu Sai from 28th June 1876 to 4th March 1903 (Office No. General XII-18-b).
- (iii) relating to the feudatory chiefs from 17th November 1883 to 2nd August 1895 A.D.
- (iv) Letters from the Commissioner of Chuttesgurh Division to the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur, dating from 14th December 1867 to 18th November 1884 transmitting the Sanads granted by the Government to the Native Chiefs of Rehraco Bamrah, Raigarh *cum* Burgurh, Sonapur, Sarungurh, Patna, etc., in the Sambalpur District (IX-37-G.).
- (v) Palm Leaf Mss. In Oriya character mostly containing the signatures of the adherents of Soorender Sai and their consent to surrender.

Another leaf Ms. relate the death of Maharaj Sai and Rani Mohan Kumari of Sambalpur, and the outbreak of rebellion during the rule of Govind Sai, their successor.

- (vi) A *bastā* containing perwannahs, hukumnamahs in Persian, Debnagri and Oriya, relating to the rebellion of Soorender Sai.
- (vii) A genealogical table in Oriya and Persian of the family of Balaram Deb, the first Rajah of Sambalpur and the younger brother of the Patna Rajah.

Notes on the Salt-petre trade of the English at Patna (1739-48).

Based on unpublished records in the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.

(By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., P.R.S.)

In the middle of the 18th century, the extent of Patna was about seven miles in length on the south bank of the Ganges and half a mile in breadth.¹ It was a centre of trade for cloth², opium and chiefly for saltpetre. Most of the salt-petre imported by the East India Company was manufactured within the province of Behar. The Dutch and the French, who had also their factories at Patna, were the rivals of the English in this saltpetre trade.

In 1739 men of the English Factory at Patna had a quarrel with the Dutch concerning the saltpetre "bought jointly which was seized by the Dutch with an armed force." The dispute reached a great height, which compelled the English President and the Council in Calcutta to apply privately to the Dutch Directorate at Hughli, and the matter was then amicably settled by June of the same year.³ Soon after this, the Members of the English Factory at Patna were informed by the authorities in Calcutta "to procure as large a quantity of saltpetre as possible which they promised on the 14th July".⁴ On the 29th August the Patna Factory sent a fleet to Calcutta with 18603 bags of saltpetre and in October another fleet was sent from Patna with 6500 bags more.⁵

But again in the year 1741 the Dutch Chief at Patna "contrary to an agreement endeavoured to procure all the saltpetre he could to the (English) Company's prejudice"⁶. Thereupon the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Dutch Director of Hugli, who "promised to write strenuously to Patna".

The price of saltpetre rose that year to six 'Ely (Ilahi) Rupees' a maund on account of these disputes, which were, however, soon accommodated and a contract was signed for the ensuing year⁷. Lieutenant Jacobs went back

¹ Grose's Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. II, pp. 639-642; Rennel's Memoir of the map of Indostan, p. 61.

² Bengal General Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 3rd January 1740. Imperial Record Dept., Home Miscellaneous.

³ *Ibid*, para. 86.

⁴ *Ibid*, para. 90.

⁵ *Ibid*, para. 98.

⁶ Letter to Court, dated 11th December 1741, para. 218, I. R. D. (H. M.).

⁷ Letter to Court, 30th January 1742, para. 5.

from Patna to Calcutta on the 16th January, 1742, with 4533 bags of saltpetre and 64 bales (of cloth); 1018 other bags were on the way⁸. The Patna Factory further "gave hopes of 56000 Maund saltpetre" and sent word to the authorities in Calcutta that it had "10258 Maund in Warehouse" and had "supplied Madras with 1800" and was "sending 3800 maund more"⁹. About the beginning of the next year the authorities in Calcutta received from Patna only "12212 bags saltpetre invoiced at 4 rupees a maund"¹⁰.

But the advance of Balaji Rao through Behar in the month of February, 1743,¹¹ "impeded saltpetre investment at Patna"¹². The Company had to suffer further troubles in this respect on account of Mr Cole's mal-administration of the Patna Factory and his behaviour with Deepchund, Omichund and other "Assamys", which is clear from para. 18 of the Bengal General Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 8th November, 1744:—"The debts contracted in his (Cole's) time with the Assamys Rupees 380747-7 of which Omichund Deepchund stand indebted Rupees 1,59,997-2-3 which Deepchund at Calcutta denies and makes a large demand on the Company whose accounts are inspecting. The other debts Messrs Cole and Eyre say are bad being 220750-4. Patna ordered to enquire into the state of those accounts and the reasons why these ballances are not good, whether the Teeps (thumb impression) of 1741 are genuine, which Patna on comparing with the originals write Meerchund owns his to be genuine but refuses paying his Ballance for Reasons enclosed. Omichand says both his Teep and the Endorsement were false and denies being Feroomuls security. Messrs Pattle and Fullerton refuse to sign the Books. On considering the same resolved 14th October to have the administration of Mr Cole supervised and the Ballance of that Factory Examined (*unto*) and appointed Messrs Barwell Drake and Watts to that service and Mr Cole saying the Assamys Accounts have not been settled these five years to examine into the same. Mr Robert Eyre is to return thither and with Messrs Pattle and Fullerton give the supravisors Insight and Infomation as to these Affairs

Could not without a Manifest
Breach of Duty avoid suspending
Mr Cole from his station
for his Male (mal)
Administration at Patna"

This being the situation and "every debt on the Patna Books" being either "Disputed or denied", the Company was at a loss "how to transact the (salt) Petre business." The best method that the Patna Factory men could pitch upon was to persuade both the Dutch and the French to keep down the price¹³. The Dutch Directorate at Hugli expressed its willingness to

⁸ *Ibid*, para. 7.

⁹ Letter to Court, 31st July, 1742, para. 20.

¹⁰ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para. 58.

¹¹ Letter to Court, 13th August, 1743, para. 8.

¹² *Ibid*, para. 19.

¹³ Letter to Court, dated 24th February, 1744-45, para. 63.

enter into agreements with the English for the purchase of saltpetre, but the French "insisted on 25000 Maund yearly"¹⁴. The Dutch "desired the French might have only 15 per cent, the French have no right to more"¹⁵. But the French remained persistent in their demands, and so the authorities in Calcutta "wrote to Patna to agree with the Dutch in purchasing as last year and to bring the French to reasonable terms and not buy any separate"¹⁶. Mr Drabbe, the Dutch Chief at Patna, agreed to "purchase saltpetre and to give the Three Nations their usual proportions for Dobarra Petre at 3 rupees 4 annas sicca per Maund"¹⁷. On the 2nd January, 1745, the Patna Factory sent 6094 bags of saltpetre, together with 42 bales of cloths and 8 bales of chintz to Calcutta¹⁸.

In the month of December, 1744, the authorities in Calcutta tried to settle all troubles about the accounts of Deepchund¹⁹, Omichund and others during Mr Cole's administration of the Patna Factory. On the 24th December Mr Cole was asked to proceed to Patna, but on the 5th of January, 1745, he gave his answer refusing to go, "whereupon the President Mr Davis and Mr Feake declared him liable for the sums outstanding"²⁰. The President in Calcutta "delivered 4 March to Mr Cole several Patna accounts and waited till 28 May when wrote for his remarks" but he replied that "they were not in the Naugree Language nor signed, nor sworn to"²¹. On the 15th of July Mr Cole was asked "to produce all the vouchers and Receipts for payment of the Company's money to Assamys and others, which he refused, saying he would not disarm himself"²².

Thus the matter remained as unsettled as before. So Omichand and Deepchand refused to allow the English a seer of their saltpetre and offered at the Nawab's Durbar 25000 rupees to compel the Europeans to buy solely of them²³. At this the President wrote to the Chief of the Patna Factory advising him to "act in conjunction with the Dutch" and not to "advance a Rupee to Assamys"²⁴.

But the entrance of another Maratha invading army into the province of Bihar *viâ* Patna, during the rainy season of 1745, created fresh troubles for the Company's trade, "whereby Patna could not get away their Bales or

¹⁴ Letter to Court, dated 9th February, 1744-45, para. 64.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, para. 65. This desire to considerably restrict the share of the French in the Saltpetre trade was most probably due to the anxiety of the English and the Dutch to ensure the major part of the Indian saltpetre supply, so as to meet the demand for it arising out of the Wars of the Austrian succession (in several theatres) in which they were allied against the French. This would also explain the joint action of the Dutch and the English factories in these years inspite of difficulties.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, para. 68.

¹⁷ Letter to Court, dated 11th August, 1745, para. 10.

¹⁸ Letter to Court, dated 9th February, 1744-45, para. 63.

¹⁹ Deepchund was a brother of Omichund. *Ibid*, para. 125.

²⁰ *Ibid*, para. 128.

²¹ Letter to Court, 11th August, 1745, para. 19.

²² *Ibid*.

²³ *Ibid*, dated 31st January, 1745-6, paras. 47-59.

²⁴ *Ibid*.

saltpetre". The Marathas plundered Futwah and burnt a godown, where 7186 maunds of saltpetre was deposited²⁵. However, Mr Drabbe, the Dutch Chief at Patna agreed to provide saltpetre for the year 1746 "agreeable to the last year's contract 3 rupees 4 annas a maund but (on condition that) what Ballances should become due from the Merchants and Assamies each party to bear proportion of the Loss"²⁶. The authorities in Calcutta agreed to this and "directed Patna to engage by contracts or with ready money as to the other Nations and them might seem best"²⁷.

On the 16th of March, 1746, the Chief of the Patna Factory informed the authorities in Calcutta that "they had sent the saltpetre that was damaged by the Fire at Fatwah to the Carconnahs (manufactories) at Chupra and Singia, the produce of which they would sent the next season"²⁸. On the 15th of April of the same year the Dutch Chief "signed the contract for the saltpetre business", whereupon the English informed him that they would want "a large supply of Petre". He replied that he "would do his utmost to procure as large a quantity as possible that in consequence thereof he afterwards proposed to them the buying of Deepchund's Petre at a stipulated price and he had sent people to Chupra to make the bargain but that he could not come to any agreement for it"²⁹. In fact, Mr Drabbe then "assured them he should not be able to provide more saltpetre this year than he did the last"³⁰. But the English were greatly in want of saltpetre, as they had received only 21274 Maunds during the last year. So their authorities in Calcutta thought it proper to consult the Dutch Directorate at Hugli about the purchase of Deepchund's saltpetre, and sent Messrs Kemp and Eyre to Hugli. On the 7th of June Messrs Kempe and Eyre returned to Calcutta with a letter from the Dutch Directorate at Hughl, desiring the English to give orders to their men at Patna to join sincerely with Mr Drabbe, whereupon he had "reason to hope that they shall get Deepchund's Petre at a rate not high enough to encourage him (the Dutch Director at Hugli) to persist in crossing" the English in that trade³¹. On the same day the President in Calcutta informed the Chief of the Patna Factory of the conference they had with the "Dutch Gentlemen at Hughley (and sent them a copy of the Letter the Dutch Director and Council had wrote to Mr Drabbe in this affair) directing them to act in concert with him as they were well aware how it would be necessary to get a large quantity of Petre for the expected shipping"³².

Mr Drabbe made another proposal to the English at the Patna Factory "concerning the purchase of Deepchund's Petre at the price formerly agreed

²⁵ Letter to Court, dated 31st January, 1746, paras. 111-4.

²⁶ *Ibid*, para. 137.

²⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁸ Letter to Court, dated 30th November, 1746, para. 23.

²⁹ *Ibid*, para. 25.

³⁰ *Ibid*.

³¹ *Ibid*, para. 26.

³² *Ibid*, para. 26.

on provided they (the English) would pay an Import duty ”³³. The English told him that “ they should be glad of the purchase that whatever was paid no mention should be made of the customs. He was also of the same sentiments and said he would write to Chupra accordingly;” but on the 7th July “ he wrote to Mr. Barwell for a Note for 25000 sicca Rupees to carry on the Petre business for this year’s contract but they being out of cash and none of the shroffs caring to lend any money at Interest they offered him a Bill of Exchange ” on their authorities in Calcutta. But that also was rejected³⁴. Being informed of this by a letter from the Patna factory, dated 11th July, the President and the Council in Calcutta procured a Bill of Exchange for 50000 rupees from Jagat Seth’s house and sent it to Patna, as their necessities (for saltpetre) were very pressing³⁴. On the 14th of September, 1746, the President and Council in Calcutta received one letter from the Patna Factory, dated the 28th August, acknowledging the receipt of their Bill for 50000 Sicca rupees, and another letter, dated the 31st August, “ advising of their having sent 30000 Sicca Rupees to the Dutch Chief ”, who returned a receipt for the sum³⁵.

The Dutch boats arrived at Hugli towards the end of September with 36000 maunds of saltpetre from Patna³⁶ but the English Factory could not send to Calcutta the 27000 maunds which it had been able to collect, for want of boats³⁷. The English Factory again fell into troubles with the Dutch Chief for the latter’s demanding all the money, as arranged in the contract, for the purchase of Deepchand’s saltpetre. The English at the Patna Factory wrote to the Dutch Chief there that, as they were short of money, they would send him “ What they had in the House being 5000 Sicca Rupees and would give him Bill ” on their authorities in Calcutta for what more he might want³⁸. But the Dutch Chief replied that “ it was not in his power to accept of Bills of Exchange but of ready money wherefore their tendering of Bills has been effectless so that if they want their true proportion of this years petre He friendly desires them once more to send them the money wanting for that purpose for on the contrary he shall be compelled to send their remaining proportion down to Bengall ”³⁹. Thus the English saw that they will “ receive no more petre from the Dutch Chief than to the amount of the money ” they had handed over to him.

The President and the Council in Calcutta, therefore, applied to the Dutch Directorate and Council at Hugli to have their “ true proportion of Petre from Mr Drabbe agreeable to contract to be delivered by him to them in

³³ Letter to Court, dated 30th November, 1746, para 28.

³⁴ *Ibid*, para. 29.

³⁵ *Ibid*, para. 35. The form of the receipt was:—“ That he acknowledged to have received of Mr. Barwell 30000 Sicca rupees of which 26175 is Account of the Petre business and 3825 Account of Chupra Petre which by Mr Barwell’s order he had paid the Durbar ”.

³⁶ *Ibid*, para. 35.

³⁷ *Ibid*, para. 38.

³⁸ *Ibid*, para. 36.

³⁹ *Ibid*.

Patna or in case of its having been brought to Hugli that it should be delivered" to them from that place. The Dutch at Hugli agreed to give the English their true proportion at Hugli provided the English kept "to the letter of the contract in regard to Deepchund's last year's Petre" and agreed to "partake in all charges of bringing it down and in the risque proportionable to the quantity"⁴⁰. The English consented to this on condition that the Dutch at Hugli "agreed with Mr Drabbe in making the price for Deepchund's Petre"⁴¹.

But a new difficulty arose. The Dutch at Hugli were informed by their men at Patna, "that Deepchund by giving 10000 Rupees to the (Nawab's) Government had got leave to send his last year's Petre down to Bengall and that he is making preparations for it". Considering this to be a matter of great importance, as it would highly prejudice their saltpetre trade at Patna, which was according to these records "one of the principal reasons of the establishment" of all the European Factories there, the Dutch at Hugli deputed Messrs Bisdorn and Walbeck, two gentlemen of their Council, to the English Council in Calcutta, to deliberate with them "what might and ought to be applied to frustrate that pernicious design and that since the Naib Subah of Behar is gone to Muxadavad (Murshidabad) they can not find any better means than to get the Vaqueels of the three nations (that is the French as well) as soon as possible to complain in significant terms to him and the Nabob of the injustice of these proceedings and the prejudice that is thereby done"⁴². But the English expressed their unwillingness to enter into such measures with the Dutch, as they had not heard anything from their own men at Patna. Besides this, they had received an order from the authorities at home for withdrawing the Factory at Patna and purchasing saltpetre either in Calcutta or at Hugli⁴³. Again the Dutch wrote to the English on the 31st October that "in case Mr Drabbe should succeed at Patna in the purchase of Deepchund's last year's petre, without (the English) agreeing to price", they would not fail to give the English time for "final declaration" and would also give them their true proportion of it, if the English, on their side, fulfilled "the condition upon which that promise was made"⁴⁴. But the English did not send any reply, whereupon the Dutch ordered that neither the English nor any under their jurisdiction "should purchase any of Deepchund's Petre"⁴⁵.

The above-mentioned troubles, and the orders of the authorities at home for the withdrawal of the Patna Factory and the purchase of saltpetre wherever it could be available, had made the English Company indifferent about the saltpetre business at Patna, and so the Company, remained silent⁴⁶.

⁴⁰ Letter to Court, dated 30th November, 1746, para. 39.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid*, para. 40.

⁴³ *Ibid*, paras. 41 and 42.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, para. 43

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Letter to Court, dated 30th November, 1746, para. 43.

Thus, when Mr Drabbe visited the English Factory at Patna, early in November, to "know if they would continue the Petre business for the ensuing year on the terms of the last year's contract", the Chief of that Factory referred the matter to the authorities in Calcutta, who advised him in reply not to "engage with the Dutch Chief for that Article"⁴⁷.

But according to the orders of the Court of Directors, the English Company continued to carry on the saltpetre trade in conjunction with the Dutch, and in 1747 entered with them into a contract for four years. The Dutch insisted that the English should not enter into separate contracts with the native merchants like Omichand, Deepchand and others, but should try to monopolise the trade for the two companies. The English could not at first "consent to trying up" their "Chief and Council's hands from dealing with any Merchants or Assamies". The Dutch, however, protested in strong terms and so the President and the Council of the English in Calcutta agreed to stop their contracts with the native merchants and to "join them (the Dutch) in an application to the (Nawab's) Durbar provided no money should be paid till they were sufficiently assured the expence would answer the desired end". But we find that on the 16th February 1748, the majority of the Board in Calcutta being of opinion that the Patna Factory should be withdrawn, they "sent orders to the gentlemen there for that purpose" and requested the Dutch to deliver their own proportion of saltpetre at Hughli during the term of their contract. All the remonstrances of the Dutch proved fruitless and the English made up their mind to purchase saltpetre in Calcutta or wherever it could be available.⁴⁸

Shipping in Bombay in 1795-6.

(By Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.)

While going over some of the papers of the Home (Public) Department Original Consultations connected with 'ships and shippings', one document (O. C. 30th December 1796, no 5) arrested my attention. It is a statement of the arrivals at, and departures of merchant vessels from, the port of Bombay from the 1st May 1795 to the 30th April 1796. It sets forth not only the names and tonnage of the vessels but also "an abstract pointing out under what colours they sailed". This Statement was drawn up by Philip Dundas, Superintendent of Marine, Bombay, and was forwarded by

⁴⁷ Letter to Court, dated 22nd February, 1747, para. 75.

⁴⁸ This para. has been summarised from:—Letters to the Court, dated the 10th January, 24th February, 26th July and 19th November, 1748. The history of the East India Company's saltpetre trade does not end here. Materials for constructing the subsequent history of this trade, (culminating in its ultimate control by the English), which cannot be included here in consideration of the length of the paper and the time allowed for it, have been collected by me from similar other Records, Fort William Public Consultations and Bengal Secret Cons. I hope to write out this history in full in the near future.

John Morris, Secretary, Bombay, to George H. Barlow, Secretary at Fort William, Calcutta, on the 25th November 1796. As this document throws some interesting light on shipping about the close of the 18th century, I am appending hereto a copy of the same. The entries given here are worth studying especially in the light of the Abstract with which the document ends. Let us take into consideration first the denominations of the vessels referred to in the document. They are divided into five classes, namely, (1) Ships, (2) Brigs, (3) Snows, (4) Ketches and (5) Schooners. As we do not pretend to be experts in nautical lore, we will not discuss how these five classes are to be distinguished from one another. These are obviously crafts peculiar to English shipping of the 18th century. There are however some types of vessels mentioned in our document which denote an eastern variety. One such is known as 'grab' and is distinguished into three denominations as in the case of English ships, namely, Grab Ship (Nos 1, 11, 25, 77, 91, 148, 171), Grab Snow (Nos 20, 44, 155, 168) and Grab Ketch (Nos 18, 57, 80, 84, 92, 102, 117, 154, 158, 177, 186). Grab was a coasting vessel used in the East and is derived from the Arabic word *ghurab*, a kind of Arab ship. And if we consider all the grab vessels mentioned in this list we shall see that they have all Indian names except in one case (Nos 44, 168) and that most of them also were in charge of Indian Captains. Then again we have to note in this connection that some vessels in this list have been styled 'Indiamen' which meant a 'vessel in the India trade; specifically a large vessel belonging to the East India Company'. Three of these came together from Europe to Bombay (Nos 63, 64, 65). One goes to Surat and two to the Coast (Nos 100, 86, 87). They then return to Bombay (Nos 105, 109, 110) and sail back together to Europe (Nos 132-4). There is just one type of vessels which we note in this document, *viz.*, galley, which signifies 'a large, low, usually one-decked vessel propelled by both oars and sails' and were used in mediæval times for war, trading, ceremonial and pleasure purposes. As we shall see shortly, they belonged to the Nawab of Arcot. Whether they were built in India or imported from Europe it is difficult to say. The last type we have to note is Botella which is mentioned thrice (Nos 139, 142, 159) in our document. It evidently is the same as the Marathi word Batela, meaning a boat carrying from 50 to 500 Khandis burden. It seems to have had more than one variety. But in our list only the Ketch variety of Batela has been mentioned. Three more 'Indiamen' each bearing 1200 tonnage are also mentioned as arriving at Bombay from Europe (Nos 118-120).

Turning now to the nationality of vessels we find that there are as many as 188 entries in the Statement of which no less than 143 relate to English vessels. Of these last, 93 are ships, 13 brigs, 10 snows, 26 ketches and only 1 schooner. It is curious that these five denominations are found only in the case of vessels classed as English, only two of them being noticeable in regard to another nationality, namely, Arab. The Abstract thus refers to six Arab ships and six Arab Snows. We have so far taken note of two nationalities, namely, the English and the Arab. But ships of at least two

more nationalities are specified, namely, 17 American ships and one Danish ship.

From the Abstract we also find that over and above these four nationalities there were some vessels which belonged to individual owners. They were three in number, namely, (1) Nabab of Arcatt (Arcot), (2) Chilaby and (3) Ballia Bebee of Cannanore. The last of these is perhaps the most surprising name, because that happens to be the name of a Purdah lady of a very high rank. But the Bibi of Cannanore had already made herself a celebrity by participating in the politics of her day. From 1783 onwards she had favoured more than once the Mysore Sultan as against the British who therefore in 1790 besieged Cannanore and forced unconditional surrender upon her. A settlement was made in 1796 with the Bibi who agreed to pay Rs. 15,000 per annum as the assessment not only on her houses but also on her trade. This shows that she was not only a politician but also a business woman. It does not seem difficult to identify her ship. In the Abstract there are only two entries relating to her. They seem to refer to only one ship, namely "Ship Sumdaneey Nacqudah Hawjee Syed" (No 103), which we are told arrived at Bombay on the 6th December 1795 from Cannanore, bearing 370 tonnage. The same ship (No 175) is reported to have sailed away from Bombay to Bengal. It is true that there is another ship connected with Cannanore, "Ship Gunjavar Captain James Barber", which came to Bombay on the 18th September. But the Captain of the ship is a European. The ship could not have thus belonged to the Bibi. Besides there are at least five entries for Ship Gunjavar, whereas there are only two for the Bibi's ship.

The second individual owner whom we have to consider here is Chilaby which in modern times might be spelt Chilabhoy. This sounds a Gujarati Muhammadan surname such as we sometimes meet with in Bombay. The Abstract informs us that there are six entries for his ships. There can be no doubt about two of them as his name is actually connected with them. Thus we are told that on the 22nd April 1796, there arrived at Bombay from Surat (1) "Chilaby's Ship Sulleman Shaw Nacqudah Seedeey Amber" (No 179) and (2) "Chilaby's Ship Eslambelee Nacqudah Hawjee Essoob" (No 180). It is scarcely necessary to say *Nacqudah* is an Arabic word meaning 'the captain of a vessel'. The second of these Nacqudahs, namely, 'Hawjee Essoof' is worthy of note. Because his name seems to be connected with another ship from Surat, namely, 'Fize Soobhany Nacqudah Hawjee Essoob' (No 72). This ship came to Bombay from Mocho on the 23rd September and sailed for Surat on the 10th October. It appears that Hawjee Essoob was at first put in charge of 'Fize Soobhany' and was afterwards made Captain of 'Eslambole'. This accounts for four entries and we have to identify two more. The fourth ship owned by 'Chilaby' may perhaps be "Ship Fize Caudery Nacqudah Hawjee Bhader" (No 90) which arrived in Bombay from Surat on the 31st October 1795 and sailed back on the 13th January 1796. Why this ship was detained in Bombay for more

than two months is not quite clear. Probably it was undergoing some repairs.

The third individual owner mentioned in the Abstract is Nawab of Arcot (Arcot), against whom seven entries have been shown in the Abstract. It is somewhat difficult to identify them, but, it seems that they were the galleys referred to above. They also are mentioned seven times and are connected with Madras (Nos. 52, 53, 54, 59, 60, 61, 187). These points made it all but certain that the galleys belonged to the Nawab.

Let us now see what position Bombay occupied in the trade routes of the sea about the end of the 18th century. Let us begin with the foreign nationalities. There are 17 entries against the American ships. One of these came from Philadelphia (No 16), one from Rhode Island (No 26), two from New York (Nos 28, 31) and one from Boston (No 49) all of which afterwards proceeded to China. A sixth American ship came from Bengal (No 141) and staying for a month in Bombay sailed away to Pulopinang (No 151). The seventh came from Madeira (No 153). The eighth and last American ship that we have to note is curiously named 'Five Brothers'. It came to Bombay from Boston (No 112). It afterwards sailed to Surat (No 138), from where it returned to Bombay (No 167) and then left for Mauritius (No 170).

Of the Danish nationality only one ship is mentioned. It is named "King of Denmark" (No 178) and came to Bombay from Copenhagen *via* Tranquebar. What are styled the Arab ships are three in number (Nos 77, 85, 88). They all came from Muscat which was the capital of Oman. Two of them on their way back seem to have touched the port of Surat (Nos 91, 98). After some months they returned to Bombay (Nos 148, 162) and again went back to Muscat (Nos 171, 185). The third ship first came to Bombay on October 26 (No 88) and stayed there till November 28 when it left directly for Muscat. It returned to Bombay on March 19. We find that the vessel stayed in Bombay for one month and two days. If we suppose that it similarly stayed for about one month at Muscat before it set out for Bombay again, we obtain nearly 80 days as the period it took for going to Muscat and coming back to Bombay. We thus see that the vessels in those days generally took 40 days from Bombay to Muscat. It is to be observed that one of these Arab vessels has been originally described as a 'Snow' (Nos 85, 98) but it is shown as a 'ship' on its second visit to Bombay (Nos 162, 185).

It has been stated at the beginning that the nationality of ships is determined by the colours under which they sailed. That the American, Danish and even Arab ships sailed under the colours of their different nationalities can be easily seen. That the ships belonging to the Nawab of Arcot and Ballia Bebee of Cannanore who were more or less independent rulers should sail under the colours of their states is also intelligible. But some question arises about the ships of Chilaby's? Under what colours could they have

sailed? We have seen that these ships were connected with Surat, and we know that the Nawab of Surat maintained his power till 1799. It is but reasonable to infer that the Chilaby ships bore the colours of this Nawab.

There now remains to be considered the last entry, namely, English vessels. This must mean vessels that sailed under the British colours but that does not necessarily mean that they all belonged to Englishmen and not even some to Indians who were British subjects. That some of these vessels pertained to the British subjects in India is clear from the names they bear. Thus one ship is called Zoroaster (Nos 23, 183), and one Darius (Nos 93, 181). These are obviously names sacred to the religion and history of the Parsees. It may however be argued that as the names of the captains of these vessels are English, they belonged to English owners. As a matter of fact, we know from our documents that two of the English owned ships were named Neptune (Nos 136, 152) and Minerva (Nos 143, 160) who were deities from the Greek pantheon. And if they named some ships after the Greek deities, they might have named some after the founder and the propagator of the Parsee religion. But what about such names of ships as Shaw Jehangir (Nos 9, 125), Shaw Ardeseer (No 35), Shaw Muncher (No 42) and so forth? They are individual Parsee names and could not have been adopted by any European owners for their vessels. Above all, there is a ship which is called Lowjee Family (Nos 6, 111). This is a typically Parsee family name and shows that the ship in question belonged to that family.

The Parsees were not the only British subjects who sent their ships under British colours. There were some which were owned by Muhammadans. Two names will suffice, namely, Coodabux Grab Ketch (Nos 18, 154) and Shydey Grab Snow (No 20) whose captains also were Indians. It is true that no vessel owned by Maharashtriyas are found but it may be explained away on the ground that as there were hostilities between the English and the Marathas, no ships belonging to the latter could sail under any colours. There are however two curious names of vessels which show that they pertained to some upcountry Hindus, who were British subjects, and were probably settled in Bombay. One is styled Gunespursaud Grab Ship (No 1) another Mahadew Pursad Botella Ketch (No 142).

The captains of almost all Indian Muhammadan vessels were Muhammadans, styled either Nacqudah or Sarang. One Muhammadan vessel changed captains. Thus Coodabux Grab Ketch (No 18), when it sailed away from Bombay to Bengal, was captained by Thomas Lambert but when it arrived from Bengal on March 8, it had a Parsee as captain, namely, Nacqudah Pestonjee (No 154). The upcountry Hindus referred to above of course employed non-Hindus as captains of their vessels. Thus Gunespursaud is captained by Thomas Dobinson and Mahadew Pursad by Sarang Cossim. It is doubtful whether the Hindus even served as captains. There are three vessels with English names but with Muhammadan captains, namely, 'Nancy Ketch', Sarong Amudjee (No 3), Mary Ketch Nacqudah Carmoodeen (Nos 74, 82, 126) and 'Wolf Ketch' Sarong Muhammad Cauder (No 79).

In connection with most of the vessels adverted to above, mention has been made about their movements and the places where they sailed. If we start from Bombay northwards, we have names of such places as Surat, Broach, Bhawnagar, Bussorah (Basra), Muscat and Mocho. Mocho, it need scarcely be stated, is in Turkey in Asia and both the English and Muham-madans of India traded with that part of the globe. Proceeding south of Bombay, we have to note such places as Goa, Cannanore, Tellicherry, Calicut, Cochin, Aleppee (Alleppey) and Ceylon. Turning northwards we notice only Madras and Bengal. But moving south of Bengal, we have to take note of Pulopenang, Bencoolen or Fort Marlborough, Acheen in Sumatra, Batavia, Manila and lastly China. It is worthy of note that most of the Parsee vessels mentioned above traded with China. It took more than seven months for a ship to go to China and come back to Bombay. Thus ship Lowjee Family left for China on May 8 and returned to Bombay on December 31. China being an unfamiliar country to Indians, the Parsees naturally had to employ English Captains. It is curious to note that Indians traded even with Africa at that period. Thus on February 21, 1796, we find, there sailed from Bombay 'Ship Travaneey' under Nacqudah Aucobjee to Patta which is an island in East Africa (No. 147).

APPENDIX.

*A Statement of the Arrivals and Departures of Vessels for the year 1795-6.*¹

[The entries have now been numbered for convenience of reference.]

1795.		Tonnage.
1.	May, 2—Arrived Gunespursaud Grab Ship, Captain Thomas Dobinson, from Madras	300
2.	„ 2—Sailed Bassain Brig, Captain Patrick Torrie, to Pullopinang	76
3.	„ 4—Arrived Nancy Ketch, Sarong Amudjee, from Broach	72
4.	„ 5—Sailed Ship Eliza, Captain Adam Gibson, to China	400
5.	„ 7—Arrived Nugdiy Savoy Ketch, Sarong Dittia, from Bhawnager	95
6.	„ 8—Sailed Ship Lowjee Family, Captain Robert Elliott, to China	883
7.	„ 8—Sailed Ship Carron, Captain Frances Simpson, to China	969
8.	„ 9—Sailed Ship Friendship, Captain George Smith, to China	886
9.	„ 11—Sailed Ship Shaw Jehangeer, Captain William Sylvester, to China	705
10.	„ 13—Sailed Ship Lady Shore, Captain James Willcocks, to Pullopinang	350
11.	„ 15—Sailed Gunespursaud Grab Ship, Captain Thomas Dobinson, to Surat	300
12.	„ 17—Sailed Ship Travencore, Captain Patrick Gardner, to China	1,137
13.	„ 17—Sailed Brig Union, Captain Robert Shipperdson, to Madras	200

¹ Home (Public) Department, O. C. 30th December 1796, no 5.

1795.			Tonnage.
14.	May, 17—Sailed Ship Jane, Captain John Stewart, to Madras .	459	
15.	„ 18—Sailed Ship Hornby, Captain Thomas Scott, to China .	823	
16.	„ 19—Arrived American Ship Atlantic, Captain Silos Swain, from Philadelphia .	331	
17.	„ 22—Sailed Ship Amelia, Captain James Coutts Crawford, to China .	953	
18.	„ 22—Sailed Coodabux Grab Ketch, Captain Thomas Lambert, to Bengal .	100	
19.	„ 22—Sailed Spy Schooner, Captain Michael Jacobs, to Manilla .	77	
20.	„ 23—Sailed Shydey Grab Snow, Nacquadah Cajee Fuckroodeen, to Madras .	200	
21.	„ 25—Sailed Ship Ramsay, Captain Charles Samways, to Bengal .	383	
22.	„ 27—Sailed Ship Sarah, Captain Charles Christopher McIntosh, to China .	845	
23.	„ 27—Sailed Ship Zoroaster, Captain Collin Gibs, to Madras .	477	
24.	„ 29—Arrived Ship Gloucester, Captain William Gibson, from the Coast .	294	
			11,315
25.	June, 7—Arrived Grab Ship Fathia Elloy, Captain James B. Smith, from Bengal .	296	
26.	„ 13—Arrived American Ship John Jay, Captain Daniel Olney, from Rhode Island .	464	
27.	„ 13—Arrived Betsey Snow, Captain Thomas Megson, from Batavia .	252	
28.	„ 14—Arrived American Ship Sampson, Captain John E. Sword, from New York .	340	
29.	„ 16—Sailed Ship Tazbux, Captain William Stone, to China .	815	
30.	„ 16—Sailed Ship Ever, Captain George Laughton, to Madras .	324½	
31.	„ 18—Arrived American Ship America, Captain Wm Howell, from New York .	561	
32.	„ 23—Arrived Brig Lavinia, Captain David Smart, from Bengal .	50	
33.	„ 25—Arrived Ship Laurel, Captain Alexander Foggo, from Bussorah .	450	
			3,552½
34.	July, 5—Sailed Ship Fort William, Captain John Taylor, to China .	1,300	
35.	„ 5—Sailed Ship Shaw Ardeseer, Captain John Nimmo, to China .	839	
36.	„ 5—Sailed Ship Upton Castle, Captain William Thomas, to China .	627	
37.	„ 5—Sailed Ship Gloucester, Captain Joseph Clarkson, to Madras .	294	
38.	„ 6—Sailed Ship Laurel, Captain Alexander Foggo, to Madras .	450	
39.	„ 9—Sailed American Ship Atlantic, Captain Silos Swain, to China .	331	
40.	„ 16—Sailed American Ship America, Captain William Howell, to China .	561	
41.	„ 16—Sailed American Ship Sampson, Captain John E. Sword, to China .	340	
42.	„ 16—Sailed Ship Shaw Muncher, Captain John Anson Smith, to China .	1,042	
43.	„ 16—Sailed Ship Anna, Captain John Horn, to China .	748	
44.	„ 16—Sailed Union Grab Snow, Captain George Martin Lane, to Madras .	211	
45.	„ 20—Sailed Ship Surat Castle, Captain Henry Lowrie, to China .	1,065	

1795.			Tonnage.
46.	July, 22—Sailed American Ship John Jay, Captain Daniel Olney, to China	464	
47.	„ 22—Sailed Ship Phenix, Captain Edward Legg Hay, to Manilla	910	
48.	„ 23—Arrived Ship Fathia Islam, Captain Michael Powell, from Acheen	251	
49.	„ 30—Arrived American Ship Eliza, Captain John Gibout, from Boston, North America	300	
50.	Aug., 4—Arrived Ship Revenge, Captain Mathews Smith, from Madras	400	9,733
51.	„ 19—Sailed American Ship Eliza, Captain John Gibout, to China	300	
52.	„ 23—Arrived Ship Success Galley, Captain Alexander Binny, from Mocho	400	
53.	„ 23—Arrived Ship Surprise Galley, Captain Thomas Binny, from Mocho	300	
54.	„ 23—Arrived Ship Generous Friend Galley, Captain Joseph Hodges, from Mocho	330	
55.	„ 23—Arrived Ship Mentor, Captain G. G. Richardson, from Mocho	633	
56.	„ 25—Sailed Ship Royal Charlotte, Captain David Smart, to Madras	608	
57.	„ 26—Sailed Daria Dowlat Grab Ketch, Sarong Cassoo, to Surat	80	
58.	„ 27—Sailed Ship Revenge, Captain Mathews Smith, to Madras	400	3,451
59.	Sept., 2—Sailed Ship Generous Friend Galley, Captain Joseph Hodges, to Madras	330	
60.	„ 2—Sailed Ship Surprise Galley, Captain Thomas Binny, to Madras	300	
61.	„ 2—Sailed Ship Success Galley, Captain Alexander Binny, to Madras	400	
62.	„ 2—Sailed Ship Epaminondos, Captain Robert Alexander, to Calicut	893	
63.	„ 3—Arrived Ship Princess Amelia Indiaman, Captain George Millet, from Europe	780	
64.	„ 3—Arrived Ship Barwell Indiaman, Captain Thomas Well-advice, from Europe	796	
65.	„ 3—Arrived Ship London Indiaman, Captain Ludovich Grant, from Europe	800	
66.	„ 3—Sailed Ship Gunjaver, Captain James Barber, to Calicut	680	
67.	„ 5—Sailed Ship Sylph, Captain Charles P. Mackfarlane, to Bencoolen	250	
68.	„ 5—Sailed Ship Milford, Captain Edward Egan, to the Coast	625	
69.	„ 12—Sailed Betsey Snow, Captain Thomas Megson, to the Coast	252	
70.	„ 18—Arrived Ship Gunjaver, Captain James Barber, from Cannanore	680	
71.	„ 18—Arrived Ship Epaminondos, Captain Robert Alexander, from Calicut	893	
72.	„ 23—Arrived Ship Fize Soobhaney, Nacqudah Hawjee Essoob, from Mocho	300	
73.	„ 26—Sailed Ship Mentor, Captain G. G. Richardson, to Ceylon	633	
74.	„ 27—Arrived Mary Ketch, Nacqudah Carmoodeen, from Mocho	144	
75.	„ 27—Arrived Ship Milford, Captain Edw. Egan, from the Coast	625	
76.	„ 27—Sailed Ship Gunjaver, Captain James Barber, to Bengal	680	10,061

1795.			Tonnage.
77.	Oct.,	1—Arrived Arabs Grab Ship Amodey, Nacqudah Husson, from Muscat	140½
78.	„	5—Sailed Ship Fathia Eslam, Captain J. R. Stewart, to Acheen	251
79.	„	6—Sailed Wolf Ketch, Sarong Mahamud Cauder, to Surat	50
80.	„	8—Arrived Fathia Raimaney Grab Ketch, Nacqudah Mah ^d Esmill, from Mocho	90
81.	„	10—Sailed Ship Fize Soobhaney, Nacqudah Hawjee Esoob, to Surat	300
82.	„	10—Sailed Mary Ketch, Nacqudah Carmoodeen, to Surat	144
83.	„	14—Sailed Brig Tartar, Captain Joseph Slater, to the Coast	50
84.	„	23—Arrived Tavacaley Savoy Grab Ketch, Sarong Amon Woomer, from Bhawnager	100
85.	„	23—Arrived Arabs Snow Sullemaney, Nacqudah Hawjee Ebram, from Muscat	176
86.	„	25—Sailed Ship London Indiaman, Captain Ludovich Grant, to the Coast	800
87.	„	25—Sailed Ship Barwell Indiaman, Captain Thomas Well-advice, to the Coast	796
88.	„	26—Arrived Arab Snow Sullemaney, Nacqudah Husson Mah ^d , from Muscat	157
89.	„	30—Arrived Ship Jane, Captain John Stewart, from Pullopinang	459
90.	„	31—Arrived Ship Fize Caudery, Nacqudah Hawjee Bhader, from Surat	529
			<hr/> 4,042½
91.	Nov.,	1—Sailed Arab Grab Ship Amudey, Nacqudah Husson, to Surat	140½
92.	„	3—Sailed Tavacaley Savoy Grab Ketch, Sarong Amon Woomer, to Bhawnager	100
93.	„	16—Sailed Ship Darius, Captain David Mitchell, to Cochien	363
94.	„	18—Arrived Ardiseer Ketch, Captain Charles Mathews Whiles, from Aleppce	75½
95.	„	21—Arrived Brig Nimble, Captain George Shine, from Calicut	100
96.	„	23—Sailed Ship Britannia, Captain William Layman, to China	633
97.	„	23—Arrived Ship Helen, Captain George Seton, from China	490
98.	„	28—Sailed Arab Snow Sullemaney, Nacqudah Hawjee Ebram, to Surat	176
99.	„	28—Sailed Arab Snow Sullemaney, Nacqudah Husson Mah ^d , to Muscat	157
			<hr/> 2,234½
100.	Dec.,	1—Sailed Ship Princess America Indiaman, Captain George Millet, to Surat	780
101.	„	1—Sailed Ship Milford, Captain William Henderson, to Europe	625
102.	„	6—Arrived Tavacaley Savoy Grab Ketch, Sarong Amon Woomer, from Bhawnager	100
103.	„	6—Arrived Ship Sumdaney, Nacqudah Hawjee Syad, from Cananore	370
104.	„	11—Sailed Brig Nimble, Captain George Skine, to Madras	100
105.	„	14—Arrived Ship Princess Amelia Indiaman, Captain George Millet, from Surat	780
106.	„	18—Arrived Brig Tartar, Captain Joseph Slater, from Calicut	50
107.	„	23—Arrived Ship Phenix, Captain Hugh Wilson, from Bengal	180

		Tonnage.
1795.		
108.	Dec., 24—Arrived Ship Yarmouth, Captain Walter Dawes, from Bengal	460
109.	„ 28—Arrived Ship London Indiaman, Captain Ludovich Grant, from the Coast	800
110.	„ 28—Arrived Ship Barwell Indiaman, Captain Thomas Well-advice, from the Coast	796
111.	„ 31—Arrived Ship Lowjee Family, Captain Robert Elliott, from China	883
		<hr/> 5,924
1796.		
112.	Jan., 2—Arrived American Ship Five Brothers, Captain Wm. Brown, from Boston	300
113.	„ 3—Sailed Ship Jane, Captain John Stewart, to the Coast	459
114.	„ 3—Sailed Ship Helen, Captain George Seton, to the Coast	490
115.	„ 3—Sailed Ship Fortune, Captain George McInnes, to the Coast	515
116.	„ 3—Sailed Ardiseer Ketch, Captain Charles Mathews Whiles, to the Coast	116
117.	„ 3—Arrived Caudery Bux Grab Ketch, Sarong Lalla, from Surat	130
118.	„ 4—Arrived Ship Exeter Indiaman, Captain Listock Wilson, from Europe	1,200
119.	„ 4—Arrived Ship Bombay Castle Indiaman, Captain John Hamilton, from Europe	1,200
120.	„ 4—Arrived Ship Brunswick Indiaman, Captain Thomas Palmer Acland, from Europe	1,200
121.	„ 4—Arrived Ship Sarah, Captain Charles Christopher McIntosh, from China	845
122.	„ 5—Sailed Ship Epaminondas, Captain James Haig, to Cochin	893
123.	„ 6—Arrived Brig Jane, Captain Lancaster, from Goa	125
124.	„ 6—Sailed Ship Phenix, Captain Hugh Wilson, to Bengal	180
125.	„ 7—Arrived Ship Shaw Jehangeer, Captain William Sylvester, from China	705
126.	„ 8—Arrived Mary Ketch, Sarong Essajee, from Surat	144
127.	„ 9—Arrived Ship Hornby, Captain Thomas Scott, from China	823
128.	„ 9—Arrived Fathia Raimaney Snow, Nacqudah Bavajee, from Tellicherry	150
129.	„ 10—Arrived Prize Ketch, to the Drake Lieut-Edw Lowes, from the Coast	130
130.	„ 10—Arrived Ship Friendship, Captain George Smith, from China	886
131.	„ 13—Sailed Ship Fize Caudery, Nacqudah Hawjee Bahadoor, to Surat	529
132.	„ 19—Sailed Ship Princess Amelia Indiaman, Captain George Millet, to Europe	780
133.	„ 19—Sailed Ship Barwell Indiaman, Captain Thomas Well-advice, to Europe	796
134.	„ 19—Sailed Ship London Indiaman, Captain Ludovich Grant, to Europe	800
135.	„ 22—Sailed Raimaney Ketch, Nacqudah Maham ^d Esmill, to Mocho	90
136.	„ 22—Arrived Ship Neptune, Captain John Pitman, from Pulopinang	250
137.	„ 24—Sailed, Ship Yarmouth, Captain Walter Dawes, to Bengal	460
138.	„ 24—Sailed American Ship Five Brothers, Captain William Brown, to Surat	300

1796.		Tonnage.
139.	Jan., 26—Sailed Ezdahbux Botella Ketch, Sarong Lalla, to the Coast	145
140.	„ 28—Arrived Ship Travencore, Captain Patrick Gardner, from China and last from Surat	1,137
141.	„ 30—Arrived American Ship Cleopatra, Captain Samuel Newell, from Bengal	278
		16,056
142.	Feb., 2—Arrived Mahadow Pursad Botella Ketch, Sarong Cassim, from Tellicherry	78
143.	„ 2—Arrived Brig Minerva, Captain Robert Shepperdson, from Pulopinang	80
144.	„ 11—Arrived Ship Sylph, Captain Charles P. Macfarlane, from West Coast	250
145.	„ 11—Arrived Ship Gunjaver, Captain James Barber, from Bengal	680
146.	„ 21—Sailed Brig Jane, Captain J. M. Carriga, to Goa	125
147.	„ 21—Sailed Ship Travaney, Nacqudah Aucobjee, to Patta	204
148.	„ 24—Arrived Arabs Grab Ship Amudey, Nacqudah Husson, from Muscat	140½
149.	„ 26—Sailed Snow Futta Raimaney, Nacqudah Esmill, to Tellicherry	150
150.	„ 28—Arrived Ship Pearl, Captain Thomas Henry Spence, from Bengal	400
		2,107½
151.	March, 1—Sailed American Ship Cleopatra, Captain Samuel Newell, to Pulopinang	278
152.	„ 1—Sailed Ship Neptune, Captain John Pitman, to Madras	250
153.	„ 4—Arrived American Ship Perseverance, Captain James Williamson, from Madeira	315
154.	„ 8—Arrived Coodabux Grab Ketch, Nacqudah Pestonjee, from Bengal	100
155.	„ 9—Sailed Grab Snow Fathia Murad, Nacqudah Abdul Caudur, to Tellry	93
156.	„ 9—Arrived Brig Tartar, Captain Joseph Slater, from Cananore	50
157.	„ 15—Arrived Ship Upton Castle, Captain William Thomas, from Bengal	627
158.	„ 16—Arrived Tavacaley Savoy Grab Ketch, Sarong Amon Woomer, from Bhawnager	100
159.	„ 18—Arrived Botela Ketch Hormoozyar, Sarong Ebramjee, from Cochin	141
160.	„ 19—Sailed Brig Minerva, Captain Robert Shepperdson, to Pulopinang	80
161.	„ 19—Arrived Arab Snow Sullemaney, Nacqudah Husson, from Muscat	157
162.	„ 19—Arrived Arab Ship Sullemaney, Nacqudah Hawjee Ebram, from Muscat	176
163.	„ 22—Arrived Ship Phenix, Captain Edw. Legg Hay, from Manilla	910
164.	„ 24—Sailed Ship Pearl, Captain Thomas Henry Spence, to Bussorah	400
165.	„ 27—Arrived Ship Eliza, Captain Adam Gibson, from China	375
166.	„ 29—Sailed Ship Sylph, Captain Charles P. Macfarlane, to Malabar Coast	250
167.	„ 30—Arrived American Ship Five Brothers, Captain William Brown, from Surat	300
168.	„ 30—Arrived Union Grab Snow, Captain George Martin Lane, from Pulopinang	211

1796.		Tonnage.
169.	March, 31—Sailed Brig Tartar, Captain Joseph Slater, to Conanore	50
		<hr/> 4,863
170.	Apr., 5—Sailed American Ship Five Brothers, Captain William Brown, to Mauritius	300
171.	„ 11—Sailed Arabs Grab Ship Amudey, Nacqudah Husson, to Muscat	140½
172.	„ 11—Sailed Arabs Snow Sullemaney, Nacqudah Husson Mahd, to Muscat	157
173.	„ 12—Sailed Ship Gunjaver, Captain James Barber, to China	680
174.	„ 17—Sailed Ship Seton, Captain Charles Samways, to China	600
175.	„ 18—Sailed Ship Sumdane, Nacqudah Hawjee Syed, to Bengal	370
176.	„ 20—Sailed Ship Hero, Captain John Burn, to Madras	400
177.	„ 21—Arrived Tavacaley Savoy Grab Ketch, Sarong Amon Woomer, from Bhawnager	100
178.	„ 22—Arrived Danish Ship King of Denmark, Captain Andrew Halkear, from Copenhagen and last from Tranquebar	1,000
179.	„ 22—Arrived Chilabys Ship Sulleman Shaw, Nacqudah Seede, from Surat	505
180.	„ 22—Arrived Chilabys Ship Eslambole, Nacqudah Hawjee Essoob, from Surat	818
181.	„ 22—Arrived Ship Darius, Captain David Mitchell, from Bengal	363
182.	„ 22—Arrived Ship Ever, Captain George Laughton, from Calicut	324½
183.	„ 23—Arrived Ship Zoroaster, Captain Collin Gib, from China and last from Prince of Wales Island	477
184.	„ 23—Arrived Nagdey Salamty Ketch, Sarong Dittia, from Surat	95
185.	„ 24—Sailed Arab Ship Sullemaney, Nacqudah Ebram Samas, to Muscat	176
186.	„ 25—Sailed Tavacaley Savoy Grab Ketch, Sarong Amon Woomer, to Bhawnager	100
187.	„ 28—Arrived Ship Success Galley, Captain Thomas Binny, from Madras	400
188.	„ 28—Sailed Nugdey Salamty Ketch, Sarong Dittia, to Surat	95
		<hr/> 7,101
Grand total		<hr/> 80,441½

Abstract.

English Ships	93
English Brigs	13
English Snows	10
English Ketchs	26
English Schooner	1
	<hr/> 143
American Ships	17
Danish Ships	1
Nabab Ships of Arcatt	7
Chilabys Ships	6
Ships of Ballia Bebee of Cananore	2
Arabs Ships	6
Arabs Snows	6
	<hr/> 12
	<hr/> 155

A peep into the District Record Rooms of Bengal.¹

(By Dr Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt.)

Every school boy knows how Clive laid the foundation of the British Empire in India at Plassey, how Mir Kasim's efforts to resuscitate the lost authority of the Nawab were frustrated at Gheria and Udhuanala, how the East India Company consolidated their power in Bengal by inflicting a decisive defeat on the joint army of the titular emperor and the Nawab Vizier of Oudh at the famous field of Buxar, and how conquest was finally reconciled with the theory of the emperor's suzerainty when Clive obtained for his masters the Dewani of Bengal. But the defeat of the Nawab did not necessarily mean the subjugation of the province he ruled. The powerful Zemindars had been long accustomed to sudden political changes at the metropolis. They did not care whether a Viceroy, appointed from Delhi, or an ambitious adventurer, unprovided with an imperial *sanad*, ruled at Murshidabad so long as their personal rights remained unaffected and their customary privileges remained untouched. Moreover, the weakness of the central executive had led to anarchy and chaos in the districts and the process of evolving order was necessarily long and tedious. The English officers had to deal with a set of fearless and resolute landlords who could command the implicit obedience of their respective localities and the central government was not in a position to send them the necessary armed force. The task was rendered still more difficult by an unfortunate misunderstanding between the local executive and the local judiciary, the protection of the judge being frequently extended to the recalcitrant Zemindar. The history of this struggle still lies buried in the mouldering papers in the District record rooms of Bengal. A few letters cursorily selected from two volumes of correspondence in the Dacca Record Room will amply illustrate the difficulties with which the English officers were confronted in the eighties of the eighteenth century.

In a letter dated the 6th July 1781 addressed to the Committee of Revenue, William Hollond of Dacca complains that his authority was flouted by a petty Zemindar. He writes: "I have received repeated representations from Ramdhun Chowdhry of Jalaulpore Nowarrah that he cannot obtain quiet possession of that country by reason of opposition made by Ram Mohun an inhabitant of Bycuntpore who for many years has unjust possession of it. The Maljamin also complains that he has not yet been able to collect any revenues. I furnished Ram Mohun (Ramdhun?) with a sepoy and a negabaun but to no purpose, nor can I fear put him in full and quiet possession without taking more decisive measures than I am authorised to do, as Ram Mohun appears to be assisted by the inhabitants of Bycuntpore".

¹ This paper was considered along with a note by the Secretary, Indian Historical Record Commission, in paragraph XV of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting, see pp. 183-5 below.

In another letter addressed to the Committee of Revenue on the 10th December of the same year Mr Hollond explains how lawless the Zemindars of Bullua had grown and how inadequate were military forces at his disposal to bring them to obedience. The letter runs as follows: "I have received your command of the 29th inclosing a letter from Mr Cree relative to a contention attended with hostilities between Nurnarain Chowdhry of Bullua and Ramgovind Chowdry of Jugdea for a piece of land bordering on Jugdea. I am not acquainted with the character of Ramgovind but Nurnarain is without doubt a notorious Dacoit. A force consisting of 50 or 60 sepoy was formerly sent to seize him but without effect and he has long been considered by Government as an outlaw. But notwithstanding this he still continues to retain some lands and a great share of influence in the purgunnah of Bullua and I cannot from the small force now at Dacca spare a fit detachment to act offensively against him,—and even if this were in my power he could with great ease elude their attacks by flight. I have therefore at present contended myself with sending and (*sic.*) order to the farmer of Bullua to endeavour to entice him into his possession and in the event of his success, to send him under a guard to Dacca with which I have written to the Commercial Chief at Luckypore to furnish him. I have also summoned Ramgovind to Dacca and have sent a Dastuck to attach the land which is the object of hostile contention between him and Nurnarain".

The attempt to arrest Narnarain proved futile as we find a reference to him in another letter of Mr Hollond dated the 11th October, 1782. This letter refers to the misdeeds of another turbulent Zemindar of the same locality who went so far as to rob two revenue boats of the Government. Mr Hollond wrote—"I herewith transmit a petition presented to me by the Zemindars of Cudwa which charges Sheochand a Zemindar of Bulluah with having robbed two boats laden with a considerable amount of Revenue that were coming from their Purgunnah. This Seochand has long been considered as a noted dacoit. About three years since an accusation was laid against him before the provincial council for having murdered his uncle when some evidences were examined upon the subject and he was then made over to the Foujdarry by which Court I suppose he has been acquitted; but to me the evidences amounted almost to a proof of his guilt. The present petition seems to render vigorous measures absolutely necessary; for till this time the depredations of the most daring Dacoits have been confined principally to the poor and the obscure and they have refrained from molesting the public revenue upon the just supposition that it would give rise to a more than ordinary vigilant search and investigation for Nurnarain another Zemindar of Bullua who is also esteemed a noted Dacoit and has repeatedly refused attendance and even opposed the power of Government has been declared by Government to have forfeited his Zemindary but he has notwithstanding still possession of it."

Such were the people with whom the Mufassil officers had to deal in those days of anarchy and disorder, and their difficulties were not a little

enhanced by well-intentioned interferences from over zealous Judges. One letter will suffice to illustrate the complications caused by the misguided Judiciary and I shall again quote Mr Hollond of Dacca who informed the Committee of Revenue—"A decree was passed in the adawlut and afterwards confirmed in the Court of Appeals at Dacca before the establishment of the present system of Judicial Jurisdiction awarding a division of the purgunnah of Bhaudoorpore into 5a-6g-3c proportion and 10a-3g-1c proportion, and an aumeen was in consequence appointed so long since as September 1779 to make this division but that by reason of the excessive litigiousness of the Zemindars of the latter proportion and the many impediments they have thrown in his way he has not yet been able and I fear never will be able to complete it. Every other means having failed them of preventing the decree from being carried into execution they have now I apprehend preferred a complaint to Mr Wroughton Judge of the Adawlut at Backergunge, as that gentleman has I understand seized the aumeen, his servants and the sepoys that were stationed with him and detains them in confinement at Backergunge. As this conduct appears to me exceedingly precipitate and ill-judged I have thought it necessary to give you information of it with a view that such order may be issued to him as shall secure my servants and my own authority from suffering in future such ignominious treatment. But this is not the only instance in which Mr Wroughton's conduct appears to me to be precipitate. One Ossman presented a petition to me setting forth that Cossiram and Rajahram Sein had granted him a Meerassy Ijarah pottah for a parcel of land in Selimabad at a Meeskalhas Jummah of Rupees 1,514-5-10, notwithstanding which being assisted by the Zemindars they exacted a greater revenue from him. I accordingly issued a summons upon Cossiram and Rajahram Sein which has been returned with a letter written upon the back of it by Mr Wroughton". It may be noticed in this connection that Ram Ch. Chatterjee, the Amin in question, was sent by Mr Wroughton to Calcutta for trial. He was defended by the Company's Attorney and released. His successor was, however, arrested by Mr Wroughton and detained at Backergunge. (Hollond to the Committee of Revenue, dated 30th August, 1781.) With the lawless Zemindars on the one hand, and the law fearing Judges on the other, the Collector was verily between the Devil and the deep sea. But he faced these difficulties with commendable resolution and the lawless elements in Bengal were gradually eliminated. The history of this elimination forms the real history of the establishment of *pax Britannica* in Bengal. Until the mouldering manuscripts in the district record rooms are thoroughly scrutinised, our knowledge of the British conquest of Bengal is bound to remain incomplete.

The information that the District records can yield is not by any means confined to powerful landlords and power loving Judges alone. For instance, we cannot attempt a complete account of the Naworah Mahal without a reference to the District Records. We read in a Dacca letter that "The tenants of almost the whole of the Naworah lands in this province when

the Naworrah became of no use, were held responsible for a stipulated number of labourers and artificers to be employed in the service of the public or of the natives of rank". We are further told that lands paying an annual rent of Rupees 1,532 had to furnish 17 bricklayers, 20 carpenters, 2 dandies, and 1 turner. We find in another paper that the *Dhandheri Mahal* (the profession taxes) of Backergunge was farmed to Pitambar Sen, grandson of the famous Raja Rajballabh, and a complete list of tax paying professions has been preserved, although the *sanad* to which it was originally appended has been lost.

The importance of these records, it is hoped, has been sufficiently established, and it is needless to add that every care should be taken for their preservation. At present they are found scattered all over Bengal and the Provincial Government can hardly afford to appoint a trained archivist for every district. The Indian Historical Records Commission will render an invaluable service to the cause of historical studies in this country if they can suggest some effective means of concentrating these manuscripts at one convenient centre and making them easily available to the advanced students and teachers of Indian History.

Agah Catchick Arrakiel.

A Loyal Armenian Merchant of Calcutta.

(By Mesroby J. Seth, M.R.A.S.)

An illustrious member of the aristocratic Gentloom family, Aga Catchick Arrakiel was the head and the most respected member of the Armenian Community of Calcutta in the second-half of the 18th century and his liberal gifts to the Armenian holy Church of Nazareth (Calcutta) speak eloquently of his great piety. He had the church compound surrounded by a wall, greatly embellished the sacred edifice inside and built the present beautiful parsonage within the church enclosure in 1790, to which a third story was added in 1906 by his great grandson, the late Mr Arratoon Gregory Apar of Calcutta. He also presented the church with a valuable English clock which is still considered to be the best of its kind in Calcutta. His loyalty to the British brought him into prominence as one of the foremost citizens of Calcutta. On the occasion of the rejoicings which took place in Calcutta in July 1789 on account of the receipt of the happy news of the recovery of King George III from his malady he liberated at his own expense, 138 debtors confined by the Court of Requests¹.

The East India Company brought this noble act of the magnanimous Armenian merchant to the notice of the King and as a mark of royal

¹ In their letter, dated the 28th July 1789, the Commissioner of the Court of Requests reported this fact in eulogistic terms to the Governor-General, the Earl Cornwallis, *see Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, 1789—97, p. 220 H. D. Pub. Cons., dated 5 August 1789, no 21.

approbation His Majesty King George III was graciously pleased to present Aga Catchick Arrakiel with his miniature portrait and a valuable sword. But as he died before the royal gifts reached Calcutta they were presented to his eldest son, Aga Moses Catchick Arrakiel by the Governor General, the Most Noble Marquess Cornwallis at a public levee in the Government House.

That he was a very prominent citizen of Calcutta is evident from the following obituary notice which appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* on the 29th July 1790:—

“ On Saturday last on the morning of the 25th instant, departed this life that truly respectable and worthy character Mr Catchick Arrakiel, an Armenian merchant of the first rank and eminence in Calcutta and the head and principal of Armenian nation in Bengal.

“ Mr Catchick Arrakiel was born in Upper Armenia and died in the forty-eighth year of his age; he was the descendant of a very respectable family, one of his immediate ancestors was Cazee (Khojah) Bhanoos Calendar (Kalandar), who was greatly distinguished, about a century ago, for his zeal and attachment to the English and by whose conduct and management the English East India Company was induced to grant certain beneficial commercial privileges to the Armenians trading in India.

“ His funeral was attended by the Armenian Bishops with all the Clergy of the same church, Colonel Fullarton and two Aides-de-Camp of the Right Honourable the Governor General and many other civil and military officers.”

His remains were greatly honoured by being buried inside their church where his marble tombstone may be seen to this day bearing an inscription in classical Armenian, surmounted by the figure of a rider on a fiery steed in bold relief holding in his right hand a spear and in the left a pair of scales, symbolic of righteousness.

The inscription on his tombstone can be translated thus:—

This is the tomb of Aga Catchick, the son of Arrakiel of the Gentloom family, who was forty-eight years old when died on the 25th of July 1790, at Calcutta.

His widow Begoom, who survived him thirty-five years, died on the last day of November 1825 and her remains were placed next to those of her husband.

The inscription on her tombstone can be translated thus:—

This is the tomb of Begoom, the daughter of Satooz Tharkhan and the wife of Aga Catchick Arrakiel of the Gentloom family, who died on the 30th November 1825, aged 70 years.

In 1837 the Armenian Community of Calcutta erected a black marble mural tablet in their church near his grave as a tribute to his memory with the following inscriptions in Armenian and English:—

Sacred to the memory of the late Catchick Arrakiel, Esq., whose patriotism endowed this church with a splendid clock, the parochial buildings and the surrounding walls. Gratefully inscribed by the Armenian community of Calcutta.

Anno Domini 1837.

Aga Catchick Arrakiel had seven children, two sons and five daughters.

His eldest son Aga Moses Catchick Arrakiel who had inherited the loyalty of his noble father rendered valuable services to the British Government in 1801 by raising in Calcutta and keeping up at his own expense a company of 100 Armenian Volunteers over whom he was appointed Captain Commandant, when the greater part of the regular Army was required for active service in the Deccan. For this act of loyalty the Governor General the Marquis of Wellesley was pleased to present him with a sword at a full levee at Government House in Calcutta. He suffered heavy financial loss during the war between England and France when his two ships with much valuable cargo on board were captured by French privateers in the Indian Seas. Added to this he sustained heavy losses on his shipments to England which practically completed his ruin. The Government of India considering his past services granted him an allowance of Sicca rupees 100 from 1st December 1834. He died on the 15th October 1843 aged 71. He was buried near his parents, inside the Armenian church of Calcutta. His mother Begoom was a great-grand-daughter of the renowned Khojah Phanoos Kalandar. One of the great-grandsons of Aga Catchick Arrakiel in the female line was the late Sir Catchick Arrakiel Paul Chater of Hongkong who prior to his death in 1925 endowed his Alma Mater, the La Martiniere College of Calcutta with the princely donation of 11 lakhs of rupees and left the residue of his large estate to the Armenian church of Calcutta.

The Last Days of Ghazi-ud-din, Imad-ul mulk.

(Based on Marathi Records.)

(By Brajendra Nath Banerji.)

Readers of the history of the Later Mughals are familiar with the name of Imad-ul-mulk, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang III, the grandson of the first Nizam, Asaf Jah. At an early age he was created the *Bakhshi* of Emperor Ahmad Shah. Afterwards, he became remarkable for his ability, but infamous also for his crimes, as it was he who murdered the Emperor Ahmad Shah and deprived his successor Alamgir II of his sight. Before the first action between the Abdali and the Marathas took place (January 1760), Ghazi-ud-din had been obliged to leave Delhi for Bharatpur, where he sought shelter with the Jat Rajah Suraj Mal and became his pensioner. He next fled to Farukhabad, on being disgusted with the conduct of the then Jat Rajah Jawahir Singh, and he also stood against the latter's successor in power, Nawal Singh, in a formidable coalition with the Marathas. In fact,

Ghazi-ud-din wandered from one power to another, in the hope of finding security, and references to his wandering career are to be found in the Calendars of the Persian Correspondence of the Government of India (1759-1780).

Volume V of the Calendar, recently published, brings down the narrative of Ghazi-ud-din to 1779 when he proceeded to Surat intending to take a passage thence to Mecca. But he had to postpone the voyage.* I have found no reference to his having ever gone to Mecca after 1779, as the subsequent years of his life were spent in carrying on intrigues with the Peshwa, Mahadji Sindhia, the Rajput Kings, the Sikhs and the Kings of Kabul. As this part of his history is disclosed only in the Marathi letters of the Peshwas' agents at Delhi, etc., and is not to be found in any of the current histories, I propose to give here some of the information relating to Ghazi-ud-din derived from this source which will illustrate the movements of that arch-intriguer from the year 1780 to his death in 1802.

Peshwa's Government to Balaji Govind, Governor of Bundelkhand.

13th January, 1780.—“ Government have learnt with regret that you have attached the jagir at Kalpi worth two lakhs which had been bestowed upon the Nawab Ghazi-ud-din, Vizier Please remove the attachment at once and restore the jagir to the Vizier without delay.”

(Wad's “ Selections from the Peshwa's Diaries,” iv. 292—No 346.)

Govindrao Hingné from Delhi to Nana Fadnis.

. 1783.—“ The Emperor has heard that Ghazi-ud-din is proceeding to Puna He has twice in succession pressed me to ask you not to entertain that traitor at Puna.”

(Parasnis's *Itihas Sangraha*, “ Maratha Affairs at Delhi,” Part I, No. 95.)

Sadashiv Dinkar, Peshwa's Agent with Mahadji Sindhia in Malwa, to Nana Fadnis.

. March, 1784.—“ Nawab Ghazi-ud-din's Begam and sons, Zia-ud-din Khan and Husain Bakhsh, are living in Kalpi. The Puna Darbar sent their agent Tirandaz Khan with letters to Patil Baba (Mahadji) to bring Ghazi-ud-din's family to Puna Now I learn that the Begam would **not allow** Tirandaz Khan to enter her house She says she will go and join her husband who is at Bikaner, but will not go to Puna. If she is taken away forcibly, she would commit suicide ”

(Parasnis's *Gwalior Papers*”, volume iv, letter No 92.)

* See my article—“ Some Information relating to the Last Days of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Imad-ul-mulk ”, published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXVII, Part II.

Govindrao Hingné from Delhi to the Peshwa.

17th January, 1790.—"News comes that Ghazi-ud-din has gone into the district of Bikaner, and that Taimur Shah of Kabul has sent him a succour of two regiments to help the King of Jodhpur."

. . . . *May, 1790.*—"The Kings of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Udaipur have combined to proceed against Mahadji; they have agreed to raise Mirza-i-Khoje-zada to the throne and appoint Ghazi-ud-din as his wazir."

. . . . *May, 1790.*—"Nawab Ghazi-ud-din and Shahzada Ahsan Bakht have reached Kangra and been received very hospitably by Rajah Sansar Chandra of that place. But owing to the danger of the Sikhs, they have decided not to stay there. They are seeking the protection of Taimur Shah of Kabul. Ghazi-ud-din's son, Jilani Khan, has also come from Farrukhabad to join his father."

26th September, 1790.—"Ghazi-ud-din has come to Zaman Shah, who has received him with great honour and despatched him to Multan."

August, 1791.—"Ghazi-ud-din and Shahzada Ahsan Bakht have reached the territory of Nahanwala in the district of Patiala and there collected some militia (*sehbandi*) and other troops. On learning of this the Emperor wrote to the Rajah of Nahan and Sahib Singh Sikh, the Chief of Patiala, not to shelter these ungrateful wretches, but to oust them at once from that place. They were accordingly asked to leave the place. Thereupon they marched by the route of Nimbdi to Kabul."

October, 1791.—"Shahzada Ahsan Bakht has reached the vicinity of Kandahar; I shall report later what takes place after his visit to Zaman Shah."

2nd December, 1791.—"Zaman Shah has promised Ahsan Bakht to supply him with forces to proceed against Delhi, as soon as they (Zaman Shah and party) reach Peshawar."

17th January, 1792.—"Zaman Shah pays him Rs. 200 per day for expenses."

(Parasnis's *Itihas Sangraha*, "Maratha Affairs at Delhi," Pt. II, Nos 1, 13, 15, 34, 64, 68, 71, and 77 of 1792.)

March, 1792.—"Ahsan Bakht has reached Peshawar. He is helped by Taimur Shah. He intends to coerce the Sikhs with the help of Ghazi-ud-din and then capture the province of Lahore."

(*Itihas Sangraha*—Supplement No 70.)

Ghazi-ud-din seems to have died some time before May 1802, as the following entry in a chronicle concerning Baji Rao II would show:—

"Dated 28th May, 1802 (*Muharram 25*).—Since Nawab Ghazi-ud-din is dead, his jagir of Kalpi and the surrounding villages were entrusted for management to one Purushottam." (See Rajwade's magazine "History and Historical," p. 116.)

The Beginning of Jute Export to England.

**Based on Manuscript Records of the English East India Company
in London and in Calcutta.**

(By Dr J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.)

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, piece-goods formed the chief export to England from Bengal. In the East India Company's September sale of 1788, the sale proceeds of Bengal piece-goods were £619,874 while £197,716 was realised from the remaining items of export from that Presidency. In the March sale of 1789, the sale proceeds of Bengal piece-goods and other exports were £283,348 and £177,841 respectively.¹

The progress of British cotton manufactures threatened with extinction this important export from Bengal. As early as the 1st March, 1783, the Court of Directors had drawn attention to this matter. In their letter of the 20th August, 1788, to the Governor General in Council, the Court of Directors again observed "By the great ingenuity and persevering industry of the British manufacturers, the article of muslins in the ordinary and middling assortments is at length brought to that degree of perfection that there is every reason to apprehend a sufficient supply of the best Surat cotton will enable them to meet the Indian white piece-goods of the above description in the foreign markets, as the duties and freight on the Company's importations have already enabled them to undersell us in the markets at home".

The Bengal Government were, therefore, anxious to find out new commodities for export. In their letter of March 11, 1791, the Board of Trade in Bengal observed:—

"We are continuing our researches for new articles for export to Great Britain We send . . . samples of clean hemp of this country, one of rough hemp and one of jute (we know no English name for this) the material of which gunnies and the ropes used in cording bales is made. . . . Jute may be found an useful article".²

This appears to be the first sample of the fibre sent to England.

A few months after the despatch of this sample, the Court of Directors wrote to Governor General in Council in Bengal on the 6th May, 1791, that it was true that no successful competition could be set up against the Russians as regards hemp but as a plentiful supply of hemp and flax, they added, "from every possible quarter is of the highest importance to the well-being of the British nation, we recommend this object to your very serious notice".

In the course of the same letter, they expressed their desire to have information "touching the present state of the growth of hemp and flax"

¹ Extract of Commercial General Letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, dated the 19th May, 1790 (Bengal Secretariat Records, Calcutta).

² *Home Miscellaneous Records*, Vol. 375 (India Office, London).

in the different districts of Bengal. The Board of Trade in Calcutta accordingly asked for reports on the subject from the Residents of different factories in the Presidency.

A detailed report regarding "sunpaut or the 1st sort of hemp" and "coostapaut"³ or "the 2nd sort of hemp", with replies to questions from the officers of the Collectors of Dacca Jelalpore, Momensing⁴ and Tippera, was sent to the Board of Trade in Calcutta, by Mr. Taylor, Resident of the Dacca Factory, on September 26, 1792. According to this Report, sails, ropes and other marine stores were prepared from "sunpaut" while gunnies and common ropes were made of "coostapaut".

Extracts from this report, throwing much light on the cultivation of jute in Eastern Bengal in those days, are given in Appendix A at the end of this paper. Reports on "hemp and flax" from the Residents of different factories were sent to the Court of Directors at the beginning of the year 1793.⁵

About a year before this, further samples of jute had been despatched to England. The Board of Trade in Bengal wrote on the 20th of April, 1792, "On the Manship went samples of Bengal flax and of the hemp.....Further samples are gone on the Dutton, together with small samples of the seed of the latter, and of jute (another species of hemp) of which the Bengal gunnies and gunny bags are generally made." But the word 'jute' had not yet become quite common, its Bengali name *pat* being more frequently used in the Company's records.

In their letter, dated the 23rd October, 1793 to the Governor General in Council, the Court of Directors observed that they had lately had under their examination "the samples of hemp and flax" sent from Bengal during the past season. The sample of *son* did not serve for the purpose of cordage or sail cloth, two of the chief sources of consumption. "Of the sample called *paat*," they added, "more favourable mention can be made, some of the most eminent dealers declare that it is not hemp but a species of flax superior in quality to any known in the trade. You will accordingly receive directions by the ships of the season, for procuring one thousand tons of this sample".

On the receipt of this letter, the Board of Trade in Bengal said that they would do their utmost to complete the order but they doubted whether "so large a quantity as 1,000 tons" could be provided during the ensuing season without 'going to an excessive price'. There had lately been, they added, a considerable export of sugar from Bengal. Consequently, there had been 'an unusual demand for gunny bags' leading an increased use of jute. On the other hand, there being no export of rice at the time, the demand for gunny bags for rice had nearly ceased. They accordingly asked for estimates of

³ This is jute

⁴ i.e., the district of Mymensingh which now grows more than one-fifth of the total amount of jute produced in Bengal.

⁵ See Extracts of letters from the Board of Trade in Bengal, dated the 31st January and the 11th February, 1793, in the *Home Miscellaneous Records*, Vol. 375.

cost at which the Residents of different factories could supply jute in Calcutta.

The Resident at Radnagore referred to his letter of October 6, 1792, in which he had estimated that *pat* might be purchased at S. R. 1-10 as. per factory maund but he observed in his letter of May 31, 1794 that *pat* produced in the district was not more than sufficient for local consumption. On the other hand, the Resident at Santipore wrote on July 16, 1794 that about 2,000 factory maunds of *pat* of a good quality, might be supplied from his district and delivered in Calcutta at a rate from S. R. 1-8 as. to S. R. 1-10 as. per maund. The Resident of Maldah factory sent with his letter dated the 23rd July, 1794, the following estimate for supplying 15,000 factory maunds of jute to the Board of Trade in Calcutta:—

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Quantity (Factory maunds).	Mofussil cost per md.	Charges in mofussil per md	Charges of transport from mofussil to Maldah per md	Total (2), (3), (4)	Commission at 5 per cent.	Charges of transport from Maldah to Calcutta.	Total cost and charges per md. (5), (6), (7)	Total cost for 15,000 mds.
	S R A. P.	As	As P.	Rs. A. P.	As P	As.	Rs. A. P	S R.
15 000	1 1 0	3	1 11	1 5 11	1 1	5	1 12 0	26,250

The Resident of Rungpore factory sent on August 9, 1794, the following estimate of the cost of purchase and other charges of 50,000 maunds (of 72-11-7 sicca weight to the seer) of *pat* procurable at his factory:—

Maunds.	Price per md.	Total.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs.
50,000	1 0 0	50,000
Factory and aurung charges	0 3 0	9,375
Transport charges to the Presidency	0 4 0	12,500
	S. R.	71,875

Mr J. Taylor, Resident of Dacca factory, in his letter of the 18th June, 1794, estimated the cost of purchasing 300 factory maunds of “goor sun⁶ or hemp” at Re 1-13 as. per factory maund and 400 factory maunds of “coosta-paut or jute” at Re 1-2 as. per maund at Naraingunge⁷ and of despatching the same to Calcutta at S. R. 1150-13 as.

⁶ This was the fibre of *crotalaria juncea* called *ghore sun* in other contemporary ms. records of the East India Company (e.g., in Mr Atkinson's letter of November 21, 1792, in the *Home Miscellaneous Records*, Vol 375). It is interesting to note that a variety of *sun* at present grown in Bengal, is still called *gour sun*.

⁷ It thus appears that Naraingunj was a centre of jute trade as early as 1794.

On the receipt of these estimates, the Board of Trade in Bengal decided on August 20, 1794, to report to the Governor General in Council to the following effect:—

“ We have ascertained that the whole quantity of 1,000 tons of *pat* required, by which . . . we understand to be meant 30,000 factory maunds, is procurable. The article is produced in every part of this country that is not inundated, but the districts where it most abounds and where that grows from which are made the gunnies and rope mostly used in Calcutta are Purneah, Dinajpore, Rajmahal, Rungpore, Jessore and the southern parts of Nudoha ” (i.e., *Nadia*)

It thus appears that the cultivation of jute was less extensive in Eastern Bengal than in Northern and Central Bengal towards the close of the eighteenth century. This inference is further strengthened by the distribution in 1794 of the Company's orders for 30,000 maunds of jute among the Residents of different factories in the province on the following basis:—

	Factory maunds.
Dacca	300
Malda	12,000
Patna	300
Radnagore	30
Rungpore	9,500
Santipore	7,330
Calcutta	540
TOTAL	30,000

The amount of jute ordered from the Dacca factory was surprisingly small. But it may be noted here that the term “ jute ” was applied at the time only to the fibre of *C. olitorius*. This variety of jute plant cannot stand water-logging and is cultivated in Eastern Bengal to a very limited extent, even at the present time. The chief variety grown there is *C. capsularis*.

It is not known whether the entire amount of 30,000 factory maunds of jute ordered by the Court of Directors in 1793, was sent to England. It appears, however, that during the same year the Company's servants in India “ provided an investment of more than 100 tons of paut and sunn.....at somewhat less than £10 a ton on board the ship and all expenses paid.”⁸ It is interesting to note that each ton of this fibre occupied about 90 cubic feet of space⁹ and the homeward bound freight was estimated at £15 a ton which made the price of jute amount to £25 per ton. This was certainly a very high price in those days¹⁰ and must have checked the export to England.

But the real obstacle to the export of jute was it could not prove a good substitute either for flax or for hemp. As early as December, 1794, Dr Rox-

⁸ Sunn Proceedings, Board of Trade, Fort William, October 19, 1803 (Bengal Secretariat Records).

⁹ Nowadays 5 *pucca* bales form a jute ton of 50 cubic feet (See H. Sinha's article on Marketing of Jute in Calcutta, in the Indian Journal of Economics, Vol. IX, p. 529).

¹⁰ On the 1st January, 1913, the price of jute, First Marks in London was £28 per ton.

burgh, the Superintendent of the Company's botanical garden at Sibpur, near Calcutta, pointed out to the Court of Directors in his botanical history of the hemp and flax plants of Bengal that jute or *paut* belonged to *corchorus* variety. But he entertained hopes as to the utilisation of improved quality of jute fibre in British textile industries. A few months after the despatch of his botanical history, he sent to the Court of Directors some jute "as a specimen of an attempt to improve its quality by a mode of cultivation and dressing different from the practice of the natives here".¹¹

It was, however, futile to expect jute as a possible substitute for flax or for hemp. In their commercial letter to Bengal, dated the 27th July, 1796, the Court of Directors referred to "the extreme weakness of *paut*". Its chief defect was, they said, that it would not bleach well and hence it was useless to the British linen manufacturer. Accordingly, the Board of Trade in Bengal "agreed that no more *paut* and sun be sent home".¹²

Small parcels of jute continued however to be sent to England during the first quarter of the 19th century and were used there in the carpet-making industry. But, as late as 1828 when jute was first mentioned in the British customs list, the recorded exports were 364 cwt. only. At that time there was such a prejudice against this fibre that Dundee flax and hemp spinners used to guarantee their products free from jute. This prejudice soon disappeared. In 1833 jute was successfully spun by machinery at Dundee. From that time the export of jute really began to feed the new-born jute industry of Scotland.

APPENDIX A.

Answers to questions relative to the growth of coostapaut from the officers of the Collectors of Dacca, Jelalpore, Momensingh and Tippera, sent on September 26, 1792, to the Board of Trade, Calcutta (taken from *Home Miscellaneous Records*, Vol. 375, India Office).

Questions	Dacca—Jelalpore.	Momensingh.	Tippera.
(a) What soil is best adapted to the growth of coostapaut?	Low marshy ground .	High ground	Rich ground neither too low nor too high
(b) In what manner is the soil prepared for the reception of the seed and when is the seed sown?	The ground is ploughed 3 or 4 times and the seed sown in Chyte and Bysack (March and April)	The ground is ploughed 5 or 6 times and harrowed once. The seed is then sown and the ground again harrowed. The season of sowing is from the 15th of Chyte to the 10th of Bysack.	The ground is ploughed 7 or 8 times and well harrowed. The seed is sown in Bysack and Jyte (April and May).
(c) What quantity of seed is required for one begah?	Five seers . . .	2½ seers of 80 sicca weight to the seer.	1½ seers

¹¹ Extract of letter from the Board of Trade in Bengal, dated the 27th May, 1796. (*Home Miscellaneous Records*, Vol. 375, p. 161.)

¹² Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Trade in Bengal, March 7, 1797.

Questions	Dacca-Jalalpoore	Momensingh.	Tippera.																												
(d) After the seed comes up, how are the plants reared?	After the plants appear, no further trouble is taken with them.	After the plants come up, they are occasionally weeded.	Same answer as from Momensingh.																												
(e) At what distance of time from the sowing of the seed are the plants cut down and in what manner is the coosta made?	Three months after the sowing of the seed the plants are cut down, they are then steeped in water for 10 or 12 days to rot and the coosta is collected from them.	In Sawan and Badur (July and August) about two months after the seed is sown, the plants are cut down, made up into bundles and thrown into water for 8 or 9 days to rot. After rotting they are taken out of water and well washed. The coosta is then collected and dried in the sun.	Four or five months after the sowing of the seed, the plants are cut down and thrown into water to rot. After twenty days they are taken out of the water, well washed and the coosta is collected.																												
(f) What is the annual produce of coosta from one begah?	No answer .	If the produce be good, one begah will yield 8 maunds.	About 3 or 4 maunds.																												
(g) At what rate per maund is coosta sold for at the hauts (i.e., village markets) and of what weight is the maund?	At a proper season, coosta sells in the bazar for $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 maunds the rupees. At other times from Re 1 to Re. 1-4 as. per md.	About 8 or 10 annas per maund at the hauts.	Re. 1-4 as. per maund of 80 siccas to the scer.																												
(h) After the expenses of cultivation are paid, what profit remains to the husbandman and is this profit more or less than the profit arising from the culture of grain or coppas (i.e., cotton)?	No answer .	<p>The expenses are as follows:—</p> <table> <tr> <th></th><th>Rs</th><th>A.</th><th>P.</th></tr> <tr> <td>Ploughing</td><td>0</td><td>12</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr> <td>Seed</td><td>0</td><td>2</td><td>6</td></tr> <tr> <td>Weeding</td><td>0</td><td>6</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr> <td>Cutting and washing the plants</td><td>0</td><td>12</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr> <td>Rent</td><td>1</td><td>8</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr> <td></td><td>3</td><td>8</td><td>6</td></tr> </table> <p>Coppas does not succeed in this country. If the produce of coosta be good, the profit arising from it, will be greater than that from grain.</p>		Rs	A.	P.	Ploughing	0	12	0	Seed	0	2	6	Weeding	0	6	0	Cutting and washing the plants	0	12	0	Rent	1	8	0		3	8	6	The profit arising from the culture of coosta, is not greater than that from grain or coppas.
	Rs	A.	P.																												
Ploughing	0	12	0																												
Seed	0	2	6																												
Weeding	0	6	0																												
Cutting and washing the plants	0	12	0																												
Rent	1	8	0																												
	3	8	6																												
(i) What is the annual produce of coosta per maund and from what pergunnah is it obtained?	No answer .	The produce of each pergunnah differs, the actual quantity produced, can only be known by reports from the several zemindars.	Very small.																												
(j) If in consequence of an increase in the demand for hemp, the cultivation of it should be extended, what quantity of hemp could be annually obtained?	No answer .	The ryots of these districts cultivate, but a small quantity of ground for hemp, 3 or 4 cottahs (twentieth parts of a bigha) are generally the extent of any man's cultivation. If the cultivation be much increased, it may be practicable, by lessening that of grain so as to multiply the present produce that the man who now cultivates only 4 cottahs of hemp may extend his cultivation to a bega. This answer regarding hemp applies to coosta also.	The cultivation cannot be increased as coosta will only succeed on particular kind of ground.																												

Some Notes on the Intercourse of Bengal with the Northern Countries in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century.

[By S. C. Sarkar, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Oxon).]

The history of the intercourse of Bengal with her northern neighbours—Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan—in the second half of the eighteenth century, is fairly well-known. Good accounts of it occur quite early, amongst others, in Markham's *Introduction to the Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle* (second edition, 1879), and in an article by Gourdas Basak in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1890. Forrest, in his *Selection from State Papers*, printed certain records in this connection from the material in the Foreign Department. My object in this paper is simply to examine the documents on this subject, preserved in the Home (Public) Department of the Imperial Record Office in Calcutta.

The main political events in Bengal's relations with the North in this period will perhaps bear recapitulation. The story really begins with the commencement of the Gurkha conquest of Nepal. The Gurkha attack on Muckwanpur led to the expedition of Mir Kasim against the aggressors but the army of the Nawab led by his celebrated general Gorgin Khan was destroyed near the fort of Muckwanpur.¹ The appeal of the Newar Chiefs caused the expedition of Kinloch, (1767), during Verelst's administration, but it failed to penetrate into the hills, either by Siduli or through Muckwanpur, perhaps on account of the inclement season.² Kirkpatrick in his *Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, 1811, (p. 174) suggests that the desire to secure gold, which in reality came from Tibet and not Nepal, stimulated both of these unsuccessful attempts. Meanwhile, trouble was brewing from another direction. Deb Judhur, the Debraja of Bhutan, emulating Prithwi Narayan the Gurkha conqueror, overran Sikkim and attacked Cooch Behar, so that Hastings, shortly after assuming control of the Bengal government, had to organise the expedition of Jones (1772-1773). On this occasion, Tashai Lama of Tibet sent a letter of intercession for the Bhutanese to the English government, which was received on March 29, 1774.³ Hastings concluded the Treaty with Bhutan in April, 1774, and immediately followed it up by sending George Bogle's mission (1774-1775) to the court of the Tashai Lama, through Bhutan, as the route through Nepal had been blocked by the Gurkha power. Missions to Bhutan were sent under Hamilton in 1776 and again in 1777, to congratulate the new Debraja⁴. In 1778, a cherished wish of the Tashai Lama was fulfilled by the granting of land to him, on the

¹ Copy of Records from India Office, Public Consultations, 1771 (p. 150). Seir Mutaq herin, Section X (pp. 446-449)—English Translation. Kirkpatrick's *Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, 1811 (p. 25n.).

² Home Department—Original Consultation No 1 of 31st October 1769. Father Giuseppe in *Asiatic Researches* quoted in Kirkpatrick (384).

³ Turner's *Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo, Lama*, 1800 (ix-xij).

⁴ Markham's *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle*, 1879 (lxix-lxx).

banks of the Ganges opposite Calcutta, for the purpose of establishing a temple. This episode was fully discussed in Gourdas Basak's article mentioned above and recently again, in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, Part II. In his northern policy, Warren Hastings had grand designs—namely to establish relations with China, through the good offices of the Tashai Lama, who had great influence over the Emperor and his advisors⁵. In a Minute, preserved as the Original Consultation No 1 of 19th April 1779, Home Department, Hastings referred to this project in these characteristic words—“Like the Navigation of unknown Seas, which are explored not for the attainment of any certain and prescribed Object but for the Discovery of what they may contain; in so new and remote a Search, we can only propose to adventure for Possibilities. The attempt may be crowned with the most splendid and substantial success; or it may terminate in the mere Satisfaction of useless Curiosity. But the Hazard is small, the Design is worthy of the pursuit of a rising State”. Accordingly in 1779, Bogle was deputed again to Bhutan and Tibet “for the purpose of cultivating and improving the good understanding subsisting between the Chiefs of those Countries and this Government”⁶. But the journey was never undertaken because the Tashai Lama left for the Emperor's Court, and though Bogle proposed to meet him in China⁷, the Lama's death in Peking in 1780 shattered the plan while Bogle himself died in the next year. The friendly messages from Chanzu Cusho, the half-brother of the late Tashai Lama and regent for the new infant Tashai, however led Hastings to send Turner to Tibet *via* Bhutan on a fresh mission with a salary of Rs. 3,000 a month⁸ (1783-1784). Hastings' idea of sending yet another mission to Tibet was carried out under McPherson when Puran Gir Gosain, the messenger of the Tashai Lama in 1774 and the faithful companion of Bogle and Turner, was sent in 1785 and attended the installation ceremony of the new Lama⁹. His report was presented to McPherson on February 6, 1786¹⁰. With Cornwallis, there is a distinct reversal of policy and no attempt was made to continue Hastings' efforts to maintain contact with the northern countries. Meanwhile, strained relations between the Gurkhas and Tibet had culminated in the Gurkha invasion of Tibet and the sack of the seat of the Tashai Lama. This promptly provoked a Chinese expedition against Nepal. The Gurkhas, who had concluded a commercial treaty with the English, through Duncan, the Resident at Benares, on March 1, 1792¹¹, applied for help from Cornwallis who declined to interfere, September 15, 1792, because of the British policy of friendship towards all countries and out of consideration for the China trade¹². He sent Kirkpatrick

⁵ Home Dept. Original Consultation No 1 of 19th April 1779.

⁶ Home Dept. Public Body Sheets of 19th April 1779.

⁷ Markham's Bogle (209).

⁸ Home Dept. O. C. No 3 of 9th January 1783.

⁹ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, LIX Part I, No 1.

¹⁰ Markham's Bogle (lxxv).

¹¹ Markham's Bogle (lxxvi).

¹² Kirkpatrick (360).

on a mission of mediation to Nepal (1792-1793) which however was too late. Nepal had already submitted to China. The passes leading into Tibet were closed by the Chinese, suspicious of British interference, at this time, and intercourse with Bengal was consequently broken off¹³.

The records of the Home Department are full of many interesting details about the commercial intercourse between Bengal and the northern countries. There was much eagerness on the part of the English authorities to expand trade in this direction. Thus the Court of Directors on March 16, 1768, recommended the obtaining of intelligence as to whether a trade with Nepal was possible and whether cloth and other European commodities could find a market through that country in Tibet and West China¹⁴. Again in 1771, the Directors enquired regarding the possibility of the Northern trade and of sending explorers to Bhutan and Assam¹⁵. In 1774, the Directors recommended enquiry into the chances of successful exploration of the interior of Bhutan and Assam and adjacent countries, on the suggestion of Mr Baillie, who had resided near Goalpara for several years and reported that woollens and metals may be disposed of in this region in return for lacs, mugga, black pepper and specie¹⁶. In 1773, enquiries were addressed to Purling and Harris, Collectors of Cooch Behar and Rangpur respectively, regarding the promotion of sale of British staples in Bhutan and neighbouring countries¹⁷ and rather unfavourable replies were received from them¹⁸.

These efforts to open new markets indicate a break in Bengal's northern commerce at the beginning of our period. But formerly there was a brisk trade with the north and our records contain many particulars on this point. Patna, we are told, had a considerable trade with Nepal and Tibet. "The chief Exports of Patna in this trade were coarse woolen cloaths called Parpeteens, Coral, Salt, Betelnut, Cotton Cloaths, Patna Chintzes, Nutmegs etc. The Imports Gold Ingots, Gold Dust, Borax, musk, Cow Tails, Chirris etc. The common current value of gold in Neyball (and it is chiefly brought there from Tibett) is said to be 50 per cent less than it is at Patna"¹⁹. Hastings wrote in his Minute (Home Dept. Original Consultation No 1 of April 19, 1779) that the drain of money from Bengal being alarming, it was necessary to supply that money by opening new channels of commerce. "Gold Dust, Musk, Cowtails, fine wool similar to that of Karamania and other valuable commodities" could be found in Tibet and were formerly extensively exchanged with "Broad Cloth, Coral, Bengal Manufactures and other Goods either Native of these Provinces or imported from England". Bogle in a Memorandum (Home Dept. O. C. No. 3 of April 19, 1779) gives the information that in Tibet, broad cloths of red, yellow and blue colours

¹³ Turner (440-442); Markham's Bogle (lxxix).

¹⁴ Public Letter from Court, 16th March 1768, para. 41.

¹⁵ Home Dept. O. C. No 1 of 9th December 1771.

¹⁶ Public Letter from Court, 7th January 1774, para. 18.

¹⁷ Home Dept. O. C. No 10 of 21st June 1773.

¹⁸ Home Dept. O. C. No 11 of 19th July 1773 and O. C. No 3 of 13th September 1773.

¹⁹ Home Dept. O. C. No 1 of 31st October 1769.

were most prized and adds a list of prices. According to this note, small quantities of European commodities imported by the Gosains were much esteemed. Common people in Tibet demanded amber beads and higher classes pearls and diamonds. Returns from Tibet were made in gold dust, musk and cowtails. Bogle concludes his memorandum with an account of the charges of transport from Bengal to Tibet. Tibet being barren, it might be added, required large supplies from outside which were paid for by the valuable products of the country²⁰. Turner in his *Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama* (pp. 381-384) gives a list of the articles of commerce between Tibet and her neighbours.

There were different routes followed by the commerce between Bengal and Tibet. The Nepal route was the old high road of trade. We are told that Katmandu was only 8 or 9 days from Patna "and the road at the most rugged place is such as loaded Bullocks etc. may and do travel". Again, "the Gandak is Navigable for the largest boats used on the Ganges, at all times, to within two days Journey of Neypall, and in the Rains to within a few Coss. The Bagmatty is also Navigable to within 20 Coss"²¹. In Home Dept. O. C. No 20 of 25th November 1789, there is a good account of the different routes to Tibet, taken from Bogle's Report of 1775-1776. The Nepal route, we learn, was closed after the Gurkha conquest when the Gosains were expelled from Nepal for sympathy with the old rulers. They then frequented a second route through Morung (from the Kusi to the Tista)²² and the adjoining Tibetan province of Demo Jung (Sikkim). Unhealthiness and the Gurkha expansion however threatened this road. A third very difficult route is mentioned from Benares and Mirzapur through the Mustang country and the Hills to the northward of Bulivang Sing's territories. It might be mentioned incidentally that Bogle refers (p. 139) to the presence of the wakil from Chait Singh of Benares at the Court of the Tashai Lama where he tried to hinder relations with the English. Bogle himself was instrumental in opening the fourth route through the Debraja's country.

The agency of the Gosains in this trade has been mentioned already. The report alluded to just now gives a good description of these persons. "The Gosseines, the Trading Pilgrims of India, resort hither in great numbers. Their humble deportment, and holy character heightened by the merit of distant Pilgrimages, their accounts of unknown countries, and remote Regions; and above all their possession of high veneration for the Lamas, procure them not only a ready admittance but great favours. Tho' clad in the garb of poverty there are many of them possessed of considerable Wealth. Their trade is confined to articles of great value and small bulk. It is carried on without noise or ostentation, and often by Paths unfrequented by other merchants". Kirkpatrick describes them as at once devotees and pilgrims, beggars, soldiers and merchants²³. Turner tells us that the Tibetan

²⁰ Home Dept. O. C. No 20 of 25th November 1789.

²¹ Home Dept. O. C. No 1 of 31st October 1769.

²² Markham's Bogle (150).

²³ Kirkpatrick (iii).

trade was in the hands of a few opulent Gosains²⁴. The most famous of these Gosains is of course Puran Gir who played quite an important part in the transactions between Bengal and Tibet. Gourdas Basak in J. A. S. B. —Vol. LIX—Part I—No 1, gave a full account of this interesting man but additional details can be gleaned from the records. Thus, Puran Gir was about to visit Lhasa on his own account in 1790 and he was consequently asked to procure the tea plant from Tibet (Home Dept. O. C. No 22 of 14th January 1790 and O. C. No 17 of 13th January 1790). He kept in Nagri a Diary of his journeys into Tibet and China and this Journal was proposed to be translated (Public Body Sheets of 14th January 1790, pp. 20-21). Turner mentions another Gosain named Pranpooree who travelled in Turkey, Russia and China and told the Tashai Lama that he had seen a country in which half the year was day²⁵. A third Gosain, Sukh Dev, accumulated much wealth in mercantile journeys for forty years²⁶. The presence of many Indian merchants in Tibet was reported by Puran Gir himself in 1785.

The records reveal many efforts to secure interesting commodities from the north. In 1769 Will. Mirtle was deputed to the Morung country to obtain wood for masts, tar, pitch and turpentine²⁷. On his death, this task was entrusted to Francis Peacock and James Christie, in 1770, on the recommendation of the Directors, with elaborate instructions not to interfere in politics or dabble in private trade²⁸. The enterprise was unfortunate for they failed to enter Bhutan²⁹. Peacock interviewed the Raja of Morung, "Coran Singh" and got from him sole grant of cutting firs in his country³⁰. The timber he brought down to Calcutta, however, was pronounced to be inferior in quality—"rotten at heart and over weighty"³¹.

In 1783, Hastings wrote to Turner as follows:—"I have lately seen in the Possession of Poorungeer Gosein, a small Paper of Powder, which he said was produced from the dried Bark of a Tree, and administered at Tibbet for the Case of intermitting Fevers. It had to my Taste, and in the Judgment both of Messrs. Campbell and Francis every Appearance of being the same Substance as that which is called the Jesuit Bark. I desire that you will endeavour to procure both Seeds and young Plants of this Drug, and send them to me, sparing no Expense for their safe and expeditious Transportation³²".

In 1789, Kyd, in charge of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, suggested to the Government the procuring of the seed or the plant of Tea from Tibet

²⁴ Turner (370).

²⁵ Turner (269-271).

²⁶ J. A. S. B., Vol. LIX—Pt I, No 1

²⁷ Home Dept. O. C. No 2 (a) of 26th October 1766.

²⁸ Home Dept. Public Progs of 29th November 1770.

²⁹ Home Dept. O. C. No 2 (a) of 8th June 1772 and O. C. No 7 of 28th December 1772.

³⁰ Home Dept. O. C. No 20 of 23rd January 1775 and No 2 (a) of 8th June 1772.

³¹ Home Dept. O. C. No 1 (a) of 1st September 1772 and O. C. No 12 of 10th September 1772.

³² Home Dept. O. C. No 10 of 13th March 1783.

with the enticement of a suitable reward if it could be delivered in a state of vegetation to the Chief of Rangpur, if possible with a native practised in the cultivation³³. The scheme was that of Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, contained in a Memo. of September 23, 1789³⁴.

Cattle and wool from the north were also wanted. In 1779, Bogle proposed obtaining from Tibet a species of small goats remarkable for their fine silky wool of the Karamaniah kind. He had sent some goats formerly to Hastings who tried to transport them to England³⁵. In 1787, Kyd suggested sending to England the Bhutanese bull and cow obtained from Tassesuddon through Rangpur "in order to pave the way to an exchange of the good things peculiar to both countries³⁶". Kyd also procured in 1791, from Davis who had accompanied Turner to Bhutan, patterns of cloth made in Bhutan from a dress once worn by one of the principal priests³⁷.

The attraction of gold, which existed in Tibet, has already been alluded to. When the Tashai Lama sent presents to Hastings, they included "Ingots of Gold and Silver Bullion also some Gold Dust³⁸". It might be mentioned incidentally that currency difficulties had some share in creating the strained relations between Tibet and Nepal in the time of Cornwallis³⁹.

During Kirkpatrick's embassy to Nepal, the Mint Committee suggested the procuring of antimony through him for the purpose of use in refining gold bullion but the proposal was turned down on the ground that it would be cheaper to import it from Europe⁴⁰. Kirkpatrick however appointed an intelligent native of Nepal, Dayaram Upadhyaya, to collect useful plants and seeds, chiefly for dyeing⁴¹.

There are certain documents in the Home Department which are perhaps more interesting than the details of trade recorded above. They refer to three topics—the uncertainty in the relations between the Bengal Government and Nepal after the Kinloch expedition; the commercial treaties between Bhutan and Bengal; and the reversal of policy under Cornwallis.

In 1769, Surgeon Jas. Logan was sent on a mission to penetrate into Nepal and he was "permitted to undertake it as he proposed⁴²". What he proposed can be seen from his letter to Verelst preserved as Home Dept. O. C. No 1 of 31st October 1769. Logan argued that after the part already played by the Company on behalf of the Newar Chief of Khatmandu, abandoning him would create a very bad impression. Support of the weaker

³³ Home Dept. O. C. No 17 of 13th January 1790.

³⁴ Home Dept. O. C. No 19 of 25th November 1789.

³⁵ Home Dept. O. C. No 8 of 18th April 1779.

³⁶ Home Dept. O. C. No. 13 of 13th August 1787.

³⁷ Home Dept. P. P. of 19th November 1791 (3825-3826).

³⁸ Copy of Records from India Office—Public Consultations 15th January 1776.

³⁹ Kirkpatrick (339-340); Home Dept. O. C. No 20 of 25th November 1789.

⁴⁰ Home Dept. P. P. of 26th October 1792 (1850).

⁴¹ Home Dept. O. C. No 11 of 3rd June 1793 and No 16 of 12th August 1793.

⁴² Home Dept. Public Body Sheets of 31st October 1769.

party in the conflict in Nepal was bound to improve future prospects of trade—through the restoration of the old chiefs or even through concessions likely to be granted by the Gurkha conquerors. Moreover, “Raja Juyper Cuss” of Khatmandu was also closely connected with “the Goora, or white, Lama, the Pontiff of Laissah” and might thus be useful in expansion of trade to Tibet. “The Choudind Raja, Coran Sine”, (The Raja of Morung in 1772 bore the same name) to the east of Nepal, was the sworn enemy of the Gurkhas who had treacherously overthrown his cousin of Muckwanpur. He had proposed to join Kinloch’s expedition and invited Logan to “his Capital in the Hills to Settle the terms of this Coalition”. “At this place, provided my business is unfavourable to the Goorka, I’m pretty sure of a hearty welcome, and here I wou’d get intelligence Guides etc. in order to prosecute my Journey”. Intimation of Logan’s departure for Nepal is given in the General Letter to Court of 25 January 1770, para. 42. Such penetration into Nepal was obviously practised, for Bogle tells us (p. 158) that the Gurkha Raj informed the Tashai Lama that a Firingi was being sent back from Nepal.

The copy of Public Consultations in 1771, obtained from India Office, unfolds (pp. 119-123 and pp. 147-153) a story equally suggestive as Logan’s letter to Verelst. The Patna Council, in June 1771, wrote to President Cartier about the possibility of occupying the Tatar Parganas (bounded by Champaran, Purneah, the Tarai and the Gandak) consisting of 23 mahals together with Janakpur and belonging to the Tirhut circar, but then in Gurkha hands. The Patna Council pointed out that this would of course mean an invasion of Nepal or at least the stationing of two battalions of Sepoys on the Bettiah and Tirhut frontier. The Board made enquiries and received a report from Raja Sitabray. The Parganas had been seized by the Muckwanpur people, 200 years before. They used to pay a tribute in elephants to the Subah of Behar. The Gurkhas conquered the territory from the Muckwanpur Raja, foiled Mir Kasim’s expedition and remained in possession of the territory with only a brief interval during Kinloch’s operations. The Gurkhas had agreed however to pay a tribute of Rs. 12,500 in elephants at the customary rate. The Board disapproved of an expedition on the ground of expense and apprehension that the Gurkhas would give much trouble before they could be reduced. “The Board do not mean by thus letting it lay dormant to give up their demand entirely but would have our claim kept up to the annual tribute paid for those Purgunnahs and should the Rajah commit any hostilities it will be a proper opportunity to advance our pretensions and reunite these Pergunnahs to the province of Tirhut to which they originally belonged”. The later history of the Parganas is mentioned in O’Malley’s History of Bengal, Behar and Orissa under British Rule, p. 639.

To turn to the subject of commerce treaties with Bhutan, the Treaty of April 25, 1774, at the end of the Coochbehar campaign, promised to allow Bhutea caravans to visit Rangpur annually free from any duties⁴³. Bogle-

⁴³ Markham’s Bogle (4).

concluded a Treaty with the Debraja in May, 1775, which, in return for the free passage of non-European merchants of Bengal across Bhutan, promised freedom of access to the Bhuteas and their 'gomastas' to all places in Bengal; the privilege of selling horses duty free and the abolition of the duty on the Bhutea caravan in Rangpur; and the reservation for the Bhuteas exclusively of the trade in indigo, tobacco, red skin and betelnut⁴⁴. The terms of the Treaty were fully explained by Bogle in a supplementary note attached to the same document. The Tashai Lama, at the same time, promised Bogle to write to the Debraja to remove Bogle's uneasiness about his attitude, adding that he had already written to Nepal to reopen the ancient route to Bengal⁴⁵. Hamilton recommended and Turner carried out the cession to Bhutan of two pieces of territories, held formerly by the Baikuntapur zemindar⁴⁶ for the trade had been hindered by Bhutea complaints about boundaries, as well as the influence of the regent at Lhasa⁴⁷. On the death of the Debraja with whom Bogle had concluded his treaty, secular as well as spiritual power was concentrated in the hands of Lam' Rimbochay—the scion of one of the three Lama houses of Bhutan⁴⁸. In 1778, this ruler sent his wakil, Narpoo Paigah, to Calcutta, where he delivered a declaration under his seal ratifying an agreement for a trade passage, through Bhutan. The originals of this declaration have come down to us—one being in Bengali bearing the date of the 9th Paus, 1185 of the Bengali era (December, 1778). A copy of this document is given in the Appendix. The Bengali version confirms the same articles of Bogle's treaty in a different order, on behalf of the Devadhamma Lama Rimboshay⁴⁹. The Bengali language and script were evidently much used, for Turner mentions a paper sent to him written in the Bengali language in which the Debraja expressed his wishes⁵⁰. Hastings was anxious to preserve good relations with Bhutan for we find him instructing Turner to enquire into Bhutanese complaints against English agents in Assam interfering in a territorial dispute⁵¹. The validity of Bogle's Treaty of 1775 was still acknowledged by the Debraja in 1783⁵². The Directors testified to "the most ample and voluntary assistance" which Puran Gir Gosain received in Bhutan in 1785⁵³.

The harmonious relations with the north broke down in the time of Cornwallis. The following document is of some interest in this connection—(Home Dept. O. C. No 27 of 22nd December 1788, embodied in Public Proceedings of the same date, pp. 5290-5292).

⁴⁴ Home Dept. O. C. No 4 of 19th April 1779; Markham's Bogle (184).

⁴⁵ Home Dept. O. C. No 5 of 19th April 1779.

⁴⁶ Markham's Bogle (lxx—lxxii).

⁴⁷ Home Dept. O. C. No 1 of 19th April 1779.

⁴⁸ Home Dept. O. C. No 1 and No 2 of 19th April 1779.

⁴⁹ Home Dept. O. C. No 6 of 19th April 1779.

⁵⁰ Turner (324).

⁵¹ Home Dept. O. C. No 10 of 13th March 1783.

⁵² Turner (376).

⁵³ Public Letter from Court, 27th March 1787, para. 231.

“ To The Right Honourable

Charles Earl Cornwallis K.G.

Governor General etc. etc. etc.

My Lord,

Last night arrived at this place two Ambassadaurs named Mahomed Redjed & Mahomed Willee, deputed by the grand Lamma of Thibet, with Dispatches for your Lordship.—They also brought a Letter for me from the Lamma, requesting me to provide them with the necessary Guides and Attendants, to conduct them to Calcutta with as little delay as possible, their business being, as the Lamma informs me, of the most urgent nature.—

In conversing with them respecting the State of the Lamma's Dominions, they informed me, that they had lately been invaded by the Goorkas who had taken possession of several frontier forts; & a large extent of Country. That the Lamma had sent them offers of peace, but that they refused to listen to any terms, unless the Lamma would consent to relinquish to them all the Gold produced in his Country, for the collecting of which, they insisted on appointing their own officers.—

From these Circumstances I am led to suppose, although I did not think it proper to ask, that the purport of their Embassy is to solicit the protection of the English Government against the Goorka Rajah.—

I have the honour to be
with great respect

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient
& most humble servant,

D. H. McDowall, Collr.”

RUNGPORE

9th December 1788.

The Gurkha invasion of Tibet in 1788 (distinct from the later attacks which were followed by the Chinese expedition of 1792) mentioned in the above letter is corroborated by Markham (lxxvi) who says that they overran Sikkim in 1788 and Tibet had to cede the head of the Kuti Pass to them; by Rockhill in J. R. A. S., 1891 (p. 130); and by Levi in his *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 279. Kirkpatrick (pp. 345-346) alludes to a Gurkha invasion of Tibet prior to the well-known events of 1790-1792 and adds that this resulted in the exaction of a tribute from Tibet. The letter of McDowall, introducing the Tibetan Embassy to Bengal, did not produce any action, and probably Kirkpatrick's statement (p. 346) that Lassa sent an embassy for help to Mc Pherson in vain, had reference to this episode. Military aid by the English Government “ could not be afforded without a direct departure from the

system of policy laid down for its general guidance by the legislature” as Kirkpatrick remarked in another connection. But British inactivity had unfortunate consequences in this direction—for it must have encouraged the more serious Gurkha aggressions on Tibet in 1790-1792 which in turn led the Chinese to close the passes leading into Tibet. Turner makes the general observation (pp. 440-442) that British failure to help the Lama was resented and it was suspected that Nepal had been assisted. This was an unpleasant end of relations which had promised so much and commerce with the north was naturally interrupted. It was rather unexpected, for the Directors so late as March, 1787, expressed themselves sanguine of a beneficial commerce with Tibet, hoping for import of bullion and export of British manufactures. They left the actual method of conducting this trade to be decided by the local authorities (encouraging Gosains, Tibetans etc. to come to Calcutta—sending out caravans or setting up factories near Bhutan) but they did suggest the conclusion of a treaty of commerce with Tibet and the Debraja⁵⁴. All such hopes were idle after 1792 but the crisis had commenced as early as 1788.

A few miscellaneous notes on McDowall's letter to Cornwallis suggest themselves. Rangpur, as we have seen repeatedly, was on the high road of communication with the north. The sending of Moslem ambassadors is not surprising. Muhammadan merchants are mentioned, in the Bengali declaration of 1778, discussed above, as in the habit of visiting Tibet. Turner (pp. 330-331) remarks that 300 Gosains and Sanyasis and even some Mussulmans were daily fed by the Lama at Teshu Lumbo. The Tashai Lama quoted Persian verses⁵⁵ and the Lamas sent letters in Persian⁵⁶. Finally, it is significant that the embassy of 1788 was the first overture from Lhasa to the English—for hitherto the court of the Grand Lama had kept itself haughtily aloof from foreign contact.

APPENDIX.

Original Consultation No 6 of 19th April, 1779 (Home Department).

The text of the Bengali document mentioned above is given in the modern script—

পূর্বের বাঙ্গালাতে ওলাশারমুলুকে বহুত তেজারত হইত হিন্দু মোশলমান লোক তেজারত কর্তে জাইত আশীত তেজারত করিত কথ দিন হইল লাড়াই তিড়াই (?) কারণ মহাজন লোক জাতায়াতে মস্কীল হইয়াছে শ্রীশ্রী দেবধর্ম্য লামাঃ রিম্পেছে সহিত শ্রীযুক্ত কম্পনি সঙ্গে মোনের সহিত দোস্তী হই যাছে সে মতে দোতরফা লিখ পড়া হইয়াছে জে দেবরাজ হিন্দু মোশলমান লোক আশীতে জাইতে তেজারত করিতে

⁵⁴ Public Letter from Court, 27th March 1787, paras. 232-235.

⁵⁵ Home Dept. O. C. No 5 of 19th April 1779.

⁵⁶ Markham's Bogle (45); Kirkpatrick (351).

কোন আটক করিবেক না তাহারা চন্দন নিল গুগুল সাবর পান সুপারি নিতে পারিবেক না এঙ্গরাজ ফেরঙ্গী মহাজন লোক উপরে জাইতে না পারে বাঙ্গালাতে ভোটাংস্তের জে লোক ঘোড়া ও গয়রহ আনিয়া খরিদ ফরজ (?) করিবেক তাহার হাশাল (?) মাষল দোতরফী নাই। এদফাতে আমিই করার লিখিয়া দিতেছি। এহিমত আমলে আশীবেক কোনমতে তফাওত হবেক না। ইতি শন ২৬৯ দুইশও উনশতরি মোতাবেক শন ১১৮৫ পচাশী বাঙ্গাল। তারিখ ৯ নও পৌষ মো কৈলকান্ত।

The following is a translation of the above, adapted from the English version attached to the document—

Formerly there were extensive commercial transactions between Bengal and the region of Lhasa. Hindus and Mussalmans came and went for purposes of trade and carried on their business. Since some time however, there have been difficulties in the passage of merchants to and fro on account of wars and disturbances. A hearty friendship has been now established between Sri Sri Debadharma Lama Rimpashay and the Honourable Company and it has been written and agreed to on both sides that the Debraja shall not, in any way, hinder the passage and the trade of Hindus and Mussalmans. These however, shall not be allowed to carry sandalwood, indigo, 'googul', soft skins, 'pan' and beetlenut. No English or Firingi merchants shall be permitted to go up to the hills. The Bhuteas who go to sell horses and other articles in Bengal shall be subject to no duties. On this side I myself give this agreement in writing. In this manner it will be put into effect and there will not be any departure from it.

Dated in the Year 269 (two hundred and sixty-nine), answering to the Bengali year 1185, on the 9th Paus at Calcutta.

The English Settlement at Negrais, 1753—59.

(By Dr D. G. E. Hall, M.A., D.Litt.)

Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory* contains a very large selection of papers¹ relating, directly or indirectly to the East India Company's short-lived and unhappy experiment of planting a settlement, mainly military in character, upon the Island of Negrais, close to the cape of that name and inside the wide estuary of the Bassein River. This has been almost the sole source from which later accounts, notably those of Symes² and Harvey³, have been drawn. It provides many picturesque and fascinating details, but as a record is far from complete, since its compiler had apparently no access to such of the

¹ Not less than 14 sections of his first volume, occupying pp. 97-226 and 343-98.

² "An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava", London, 1800, Chapter I, commended by Phayre (*History of Burma*, 159, no 1) as the best authority on this subject.

³ *History of Burma*, London, 1925.

records of Fort St. George as related to the early history of the venture. These, for some years now, have been available in printed form⁴, and together with other sources explored by the writer render it possible to tell the full story of this neglected, but by no means insignificant, episode in the Company's struggle with the French during the eighteenth century. The purpose of this paper therefore is to attempt a brief outline of the history of the settlement, and in doing so to fit into the picture the parts previously missing.

"In the year 1753," writes Dalrymple, "an expedition to settle at Negrais was undertaken; as the particular motives for this scheme were communicated only to a secret committee, of these, or of the plan laid down, if there was any, I can therefore say nothing."⁵ He does however, make some contribution towards the solution of the mystery in the shape of a paper of anonymous authorship entitled "The Consequence of Settling an European Colony on the Island Negrais,"⁶ furnished to him by "my deceased friend Governor Saunders", President of Fort St. George in the early days of the venture. This paper shows clearly that the foundation of the settlement was dictated purely by the political aim of strengthening English power in the Bay of Bengal against a probable recurrence of war with the French. The trading motive hardly operated at all.

The War of the Austrian Succession had left the relative positions of the English and French, in their two main regions of rivalry, unchanged. In the East, as in America, the Aix-la-Chapelle treaty of 1748 imposed but a thinly veiled truce, under cover of which the French especially began feverishly to develop their power in new directions, so that, when the inevitable struggle should be resumed, they might occupy every possible vantage point. Thus it came about that while Governor Saunders was drawn more and more into the task of circumventing the intrigues of Dupleix in Southern India, a French scheme to gain control of Lower Burma led the English East India Company to set on foot one of the maddest and most futile projects ever sanctioned by the Board of Directors.

Not until Dupleix's notable "Mémoire sur la situation de nos établissements en 1727",⁷ in which he emphasized the importance of Burmese ports

⁴ Records of Fort St. George, Diaries & Consultation Books, Military Department, 1752-4, Government Press, Madras, 1910-11. These are similar in nature to the "Secret & Political Consultations" of a later date. They contain a mass of valuable information concerning the origin and early history of the Negrais Station and the relations of the East India Company with the upstart Court of Pegu. From 1754 onwards the Madras Public Proceedings contain much supplementary data to the material printed by Dalrymple. Minor, though fruitful, sources also drawn upon are Vol. 95 of the Home Miscellaneous Series of India Office documents, that Office's Collections of Coast and Bay Abstracts and of Despatches to Madras, and Professor Dodwell's Calendar of Madras Despatches, 1744-55; while for French activities in Burma use has been made of Henri Martineau's recently completed monumental life of Dupleix, (*Dupleix et L'Inde Française*, 4 vols., Paris, 1920-8), which gives illuminating verbatim extracts from original French sources.

⁵ Oriental Repertory, I, 97.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 129-32.

⁷ Martineau, *op. cit.*, I, 516-7.

for ship-building purposes, did the French regard Burma seriously as a possible field for expansion. Dupleix's efforts resulted in the establishment at Syriam of a French shipyard, which flourished under first La Noë and later the famous sea-captain, Puel, from about 1732 to January 1742, when the hostility of the successful Talaing rebels⁸ forced its abandonment, as also, two years later, that of the English factory there⁹. At the moment when the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle gave Dupleix a breathing space, in which to seek for fresh openings for French enterprise, a Talaing mission was despatched to solicit his assistance. Dupleix promised men and munitions, and shortly afterwards, sent an agent, Bruno¹⁰ to spy out the land. Bruno was publicly received at the Talaing Court of Pegu in July 1751. He reported to his master that with a well-equipped force of five or six hundred Frenchmen it would be a simple matter to gain control over the Irrawaddy delta¹¹. Dupleix reported the scheme home, and pressed for the necessary military support to carry this audacious project into effect.

Saunders at Madras was early informed of the revival of French relations with the Court of Pegu. Even before Bruno's mission he had reported to the Court of Directors a rumour that the French had designs upon the Island of Negrais. He had strongly urged that the Company should forestall them by planting a settlement there. On hearing of Bruno's machinations at Pegu, without waiting for a reply from London, he despatched in May 1752, a small expedition under Captain Thomas Taylor to survey the island. At the same time he constituted Robert Westgarth, a private trader at Syriam, English Resident at that place, with instructions to negotiate a treaty with the Court of Pegu on the basis of the cession of Negrais and the restoration of the ancient trading privileges of the Company in Burma¹². The ravages of sickness and the hostility of the local officials caused Taylor to evacuate the island after a far from adequate examination of the possibilities of the site¹³. He proceeded on to Syriam for repairs to his ship, and there joined Westgarth in his negotiations with the Talaings.

At first things went reasonably well. The old English factory site at Syriam was formally handed over to Westgarth by the Talaing Heir Apparent in person¹⁴, and details of a trade agreement were drawn up¹⁵. But the demand for Negrais proved an insurmountable obstacle. Under no circumstances would the Talaing Government agree to it. On the other hand the Heir Apparent—the dominating personality in this ramshackle concern—

⁸ For the story of this rebellion see Harvey, *op. cit.*, 211-16.

⁹ Hall, *Early English Intercourse with Burma*, 240.

¹⁰ The name is wrongly given as Bourno by many writers from Dalrymple to Harvey.

¹¹ Martineau, *op. cit.*, III, 450.

¹² For these and subsequent events to the end of 1754, the Madras Military Consultations, mentioned above, constitute the chief source. The abbreviation M. M. C. is used for the few direct references to them that have been deemed necessary.

¹³ M. M. C., 1752, 61-2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1752, 79.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1753, 17.

strongly emphasized that there had never been any intention of ceding it to the French.

In November 1752 Bruno returned from a visit to Pondicherry with a letter from Dupleix. Soon afterwards the Court of Pegu began to adopt an increasingly unfavourable attitude towards the English. When this was reported to Madras early in 1753, Thomas Saunders, deeming French influence to be dangerously in the ascendant at Pegu, decided to take a step concerning which for some time he had judiciously hesitated. In December 1751 the Directors had written instructing him to seize Negrais, and announcing that David Hunter, late Deputy Governor of St. Helena, had been ordered to proceed to Madras to assume charge of the enterprise. This letter found Saunders more anxious to aid Stringer Lawrence's operations against the French in the Carnatic than to spare troops upon an undertaking, which, since receiving the early reports of Taylor and Westgarth, he had come to regard as of exceedingly doubtful value. He had therefore been in no hurry to act upon the Directors' instructions. But when in March 1753 his agents in Syrian reported the strong francophile tendency of the Pegu Court, with all haste he despatched Hunter's expedition, and on April 26th 1753 possession was taken of the Island¹⁶. At about the same time Dupleix received a letter from the Council of the *Compagnie Française des Indes Orientales* summarily rejecting his grand scheme for getting control over Lower Burma. A guard of twenty or thirty soldiers was all that could be permitted for a factory at Syrian, he was told. With all his fingers in the Indian pie, he was powerless to disregard these injunctions¹⁷. So the English went to Burma chasing a shadow.

But it was an expensive chase. Disease, mismanagement and mutiny paralysed the settlement in its early days. The Court of Pegu also stimulated a boycott of it, which rendered impossible the procurement of either supplies or native labour. Hunter died in December 1753. No Company's servant of adequate rank could be induced to succeed him. All were anxious to avoid this death trap. So Henry Brooke, his second-in-command, had to take over the management of the unpromising venture¹⁸. Unexpectedly, however, the situation cleared somewhat. A new Burmese leader in the north, Alaungpaya, drove the Talaings out of the city of Ava in December 1753, and soon afterwards rolled them back into Lower Burma. And Dupleix, dissatisfied with the shillyshallying attitude of the Court of Pegu towards French demands, despatched some boatloads of warlike stores to the Burmese. Hence in the following April a Talaing embassy, headed by a scallywag Armenian named Nicous, appeared at Madras asking for military aid, in return for which was promised the cession of Negrais and free trade at certain key towns of southern Burma¹⁹.

Thomas Saunders dismissed the mission with a qualified promise of military support, conditional upon the Court of Pegu signing a treaty ceding

¹⁶ M. M. C., 1753, 48, 173.

¹⁷ Martineau, *op. cit.*, III, 450-1.

¹⁸ M. M. C., 1754, 19-20, 34-9, 56-7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1754, 64, 74, 86.

territory at Negrais and Bassein. A draft to this effect was presented at Pegu²⁰; but Bruno's influence was again in the ascendant, and the "perfidious court" once more raised its old objections to the occupation of Negrais. Late in 1754 the negotiations dropped, and Thomas Taylor, returning from Burma ill and worn out, advised that friendship should be cultivated with Alaungpaya. Saunders lost no time in instructing Henry Brooke accordingly. When, therefore, the victorious Burmese, having captured Prome and forced the Talaings to evacuate Bassein, sent ambassadors to Negrais in March 1755, their reception was cordial, and Alaungpaya was informed that the Company was willing to entertain a treaty with him. Henry Brooke, in fact, went so far as to write off to Madras urging military intervention on behalf of the Burmese²¹.

But George Pigot, Saunders's successor, seeing a new war with the French looming upon the Indian horizon, would spare no troops, and enjoined strict neutrality. As things stood the Negrais settlement was being conducted at a tremendous loss to the Company, and trading prospects in Burma appeared almost hopeless. The presence of the French at Syriam was the sole argument for the continuance of the settlement. Nevertheless under the circumstances it was essential to obtain some sort of recognition from the conqueror-to-be, especially after his spectacular occupation of Dagon²² in April 1755. Thus it was that a second Burmese embassy to Negrais late in June in quest of military stores urgently needed for the impending siege of Syriam—led to the despatch of Captain George Baker to Alaungpaya's capital at Shwebo with a draft treaty almost identical with the one the Court of Pegu had shelved²³.

The negotiations were nearly wrecked by the news that some English trading vessels, including the *Arcot*, specially chartered by Fort St. George for carrying stores to Negrais, and with a Company's servant, John Whitehill, on board, had joined with the French and Talaings in attacking the Burmese garrison at Rangoon²⁴. The King was appeased, however, by a useful gift of cannon, though it is doubtful if he was ever persuaded that Henry Brooke had nothing to do with the episode. He expressed himself willing to grant the Company trading privileges at Rangoon and Bassein, but found an excuse for breaking off the negotiations without committing himself to a treaty. The Golden Feet hesitated to make a treaty with a mere trading body, the Tsinapatan thimbaw zeit sa ("eater of the port of Madras"). Still, the King badly needed warlike stores. So the envoy was ordered to meet him again at Rangoon, whether he was about to return to direct operations against Syriam. At Rangoon therefore the discussions were resumed early in

²⁰ M. M. C., 1754, 166-8.

²¹ Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 196-7.

²² Renamed by him Rangoon.

²³ Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 133-76.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 177-200. This was "Black Jack Whittle", later Governor of Madras, who was offended by Mr Hickey's bad play as his partner at whist on an occasion chronicled by the latter. (Memoirs, I, 182.)

1756 by Ensign John Dyer and Dr William Anderson. Again the King would not make a treaty. He did, however, give formal recognition to the Company's settlements at Negrais and Bassein. This was conveyed in a letter inscribed upon gold-leaf ornamented with rubies, and directed to be forwarded to the King of England in person. It arrived in England early in the year 1758, and was presented to George II by the Directors through "Mr Secretary Pitt". A translation of it is preserved at the India Office²⁵.

In July 1756 Alaungpaya captured Syriam and utterly destroyed the city. Henceforth his new creation, Rangoon, was to be Burma's chief port. On Bruno and the French, who fell into his hands, he wreaked a dreadful vengeance for their support of the Talaings²⁶. Then he addressed himself to the task of preparing for the reduction of the Talaing capital, Pegu, which was to be his objective in the next campaigning season. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War in the same year caused the suspension of all efforts for developing the English position in Burma. Neither Madras nor Calcutta could afford the necessary assistance. The fall of Syriam by eliminating French influence in Burma, removed the sole reason for the maintenance of the Negrais post. Even before that event George Pigot had written home in favour of the abandonment of the Company's operations in Burma. Hence it is not surprising to find the Directors in March 1757 writing to Pigot authorising him to order the evacuation of Negrais and Bassein, leaving only four or five men in each place to take charge of the Company's moveable effects until such time as they could be brought away²⁷.

Before this letter arrived, Alaungpaya had made a holocaust of Pegu (May 1757), and had sent to Negrais ordering the then Chief, Captain Thomas Newton, to meet him at Promé on his return journey to his capital. Newton, unable to leave his post, deputed Ensign Lester to the royal flotilla, that was triumphantly making its way up stream with the captive Court of Pegu and untold booty. After two interviews on the royal barge the King signified his willingness to make a treaty but nonchalantly left the final transaction to be carried out by the Governor of Bassein and a low scoundrel of Portuguese extraction, named Antonio, who was second in command at Bassein²⁸. Dalrymple prints a copy of the useless instrument that received ratification in this haphazard way²⁹. In return for the cession of Negrais and of a piece of land at Bassein, the Company undertook to present the King of Burma annually with a twelve-pounder and 200 viss of gunpowder and to aid him against all his enemies by land and sea with such troops, etc., as could be conveniently spared. *Mutatis mutandis* it was merely an adaptation of the treaty that Thomas Saunders had tried to contract with the Court of Pegu in 1754. A certain academic interest attaches to it as an early example of a type of agreement that the East India Company was coming to make with Indian

²⁵ Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 95, 27-8. See also Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 106-7.

²⁶ Bruno was roasted alive.

²⁷ Despatches to Madras, Vol. I, 697-8.

²⁸ See Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 201-22 for the story of this mission.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 223-6. See also Aitchison, *Treaties, Sanads & Engagements*, I, 325.

princes at this period³⁰. But the conditions, which had produced the original impulse for such a treaty, had passed away, and by the time the King's seal had been affixed to the document, both London and Madras were concerned solely with the question of withdrawal from Burma.

The first steps towards effecting this were taken early in 1759, when Thomas Newton and the majority of the Negrais garrison were brought away to Calcutta. A few months later, in October, Captain Southby arrived from Bengal to manage the removal of the valuable supplies of teak collected at the abandoned station. On the day after his arrival, he was entertaining Antonio, then Governor of Bassein, to a breakfast party, when, at a signal from his guest, overwhelming numbers of Burmese troops, secretly collected, rushed in to the fort, massacred the whole staff of the settlement including Southby himself and his colleagues, and fired the building³¹. The Armenians, ever hostile to British progress in the East, had persuaded Alaungpaya that Negrais settlement had aided a recent abortive Talaing rising with arms and supplies. And the King, remembering what had happened at Rangoon in 1755, had believed them and taken his revenge.

In 1760 Captain Alves, sent jointly by Calcutta and Madras to obtain satisfaction for the outrage, found Alaungpaya dead and his son and successor, Naungdawgyi, busy quelling a rebellion at the capital itself. The new king not only refused all redress, but declared to the envoy that Burmese soldiers might kill whom they pleased. He did, however, deign to order the release of such prisoners as had been made at Negrais. Alves quitted Burma in disgust³². Shortly afterwards the Bassein station was closed, and for thirty-five years official relations ceased between John Company and the Lord of many White Elephants.

French Policy in India in 1777 A.D.

(By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.)

"Of all the public depositories of archives anterior to the 19th century existing in our colonies," says M. Edmond Gaudart in his introduction to the *Catalogue Des Manuscrits Des Anciennes Archives de L'inde Francaise* (Tome 1 Pondichery, 1690-1789), "that of Pondichery is, without contradiction, the most important alike by the number of its documents and by their historical value." Turning over the pages of this valuable catalogue, I found that No 234 was a relatively short document of four leaves, described in the catalogue as follows: "Political state of India at the commencement of the present year 1777—Very remarkable exposition of the situation of the

³⁰ Cf. the treaty of 1766 with the Nizam negotiated by Brigadier John Caillaud in Aitchison, *op. cit.*, VIII, 280-3.

³¹ Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 343-50. There is also a concise account in Home Miscellaneous Vol. 95, pp. 547-9.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 351-98.

English and of the Indian sovereigns, in 1777, denoting, in its author whose name is not indicated in the copy, a perfect knowledge of the character and ambitions of these princes and notably of Nizam Ali, Basalat Jang and Haider Aly." A note is added saying: "copy dated 16th March 1885 and certified by Mr Hyacinthe Vinson." Now, 1885 is here obviously a misprint for 1855; for, Hyacinthe Vinson completed towards 1856 his labours in the archives of Pondicherry which brought to a close the arrangement of the records inaugurated four years before by Mr Ariel (Introduction pp. XII-XV). In fact the date given in my copy of the document, on which the following translation is based, is 16th March 1855. This copy I was enabled to obtain by the kind courtesy of Professor G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry.

Even the sad fates of Dupleix and Lally did not diminish the ardour with which the French pursued their ambitions in India. "Their high-bred courteous bearing," says Sir George Birdwood,¹ "made an indelible impression on the natives of India, with whom they identified themselves in a way that seems only possible, among Europeans, to Frenchmen". The main features of French policy sketched in the memorandum are well-known and need no elucidation. The date of the document is very significant and shows that the policy sketched therein is not unconnected with Saint-Lubin's negotiations with Nana-Fadanavis in 1777; the fact that the French were building some hopes though not much, on St. Lubin's negotiations becomes apparent from another document (No 290 of the Pondicherry catalogue) dated the 24th January 1778. At any rate, it is clear that St. Lubin was in active touch with the Pondicherry authorities and wanted them to believe that, as a result of his negotiations with the Mahrattas, they were ready to assist the French against the English. Warren Hastings got early information of these designs (No 818 of the calendar of Persian correspondence—Calcutta—Vol. V) and was not deceived by the vague assurances of friendship which the Peshwa conveyed to him through the Bhonsla (Nos 991; 1003; 1920; *ibid*).

A word may be said about the authorship of our document. It bears no name on it and considering the fact that we have only a rather late copy of an original which can no longer be traced one has to exercise great caution in putting forward any suggestions on the subject. The title of this document is: *Etat politique de l'Inde au commencement de la presente annee 1777*. The celebrated French governor and historian A. Martineau published in 1913 a much longer document, also from a copy, with a title very similar to that of our document. It is a memoir from the pen of M. Law de Lauriston with the title: "*Observations sur l'Etat politique actuel de l'Inde*" dated February 1777. M. Law stayed in Pondicherry for about six months after handing over charge to his successor M. de Bellecombe early in January 1777. During this period the new governor had the chance of studying with the guidance of his predecessor how best to raise the French power in India from

¹ Report on the old Records of the India Office (1891), p. 249, n.

the very low state to which it had sunk in the years following the peace of Paris. Law's memoir already published by M. Martineau contains the expression of his views in considerable detail on important matters bearing on French interests. This memoir dated February 1777 opens with the words: "The letter marked political, which M. de Bellecombe has written to the minister on the 24th January, is a precis of present politics in India. But the sudden departure of the ship *le Gange* did not allow of (his) entering into as many details as it is necessary to explain." From the dates it seems probable that our document is the shorter memoir of Bellecombe which was written by him within a fortnight of his taking over charge and to which Law makes reference at the beginning of his full notes. There is nothing in the notes of Law that goes against this supposition, and on the main lines of policy contemplated by Law's memorandum our document throws much welcome light.²

The following is a literal translation of the interesting French memorandum of 1777 which evinces much sound judgment on the men and events dealt with in it:—

Pondicherry, 1777—Political State of India at the commencement of the present year 1777.

The picture of India with regard to political affairs presents for the French only a perspective altogether dishonourable; the unfortunate operations of the last war have given to our rivals an ascendancy, which they glory in with so much more haughtiness, that they persuade themselves and seek to persuade the whole of Hindusthan that the French are utterly unable to raise themselves from their fallen state to which they have been reduced by the advantages and victories that they (our enemies) have won against them (us). In their ambitious projects to which they have found little or no obstacle, they invade its new provinces, destroy the kingdoms, despoil the ancient ministers of the country, and by rapid progresses, by violent usurpations, they have reached the point at which they are proposing to themselves, that is to say after the ruin of the French, to dominate as absolute masters in the Carnatic, always under the name of the Nabob,—Prince whom they hold as their slave who is master neither of his finances, nor of his wishes, nor of his operations, all done in his name and at the pleasure of the English.

Among the different powers that share the authority in the most southern part of Hindusthan, which influence more or less the revolutions and intrigues, so common to the Asiatics, in which the Europeans are constrained to take part either for upholding their interest or for preventing their ruin, the Moguls hold the first rank. These Moguls, once so powerful and so redoubtable, are to-day only an enfeebled power, of which the decadence quickens

² See Martineau's Introduction to Law de Lauriston *Etat Politique de L'Inde en, 1777*, pp. 10-11. I have not been able to look up Martineau's references in n. 2 on p. 10.

day by day. Nizam Ali, Subah of the Deccan is a man without parole and without faith; he employs without choice all the means which can take him to his ends; assassination, treachery, violence, all are alike to him. He is too far from our colonies to injure them; as he has neither the power nor the wish to do good, it is enough not to have him for our enemy. If he thought himself misunderstood or neglected by the French, he would raise up against them by vengeance enemies more redoubtable than himself; all negotiations must without proposing an alliance with this wicked man, stop with protestations of friendship, vague desires to live well with him, gigantic projects of aggrandisement for him and for the nation.

Basalat Jang his younger brother, of a higher character and less haughty and more humane, has for all his domain only the subah of Vizapour,³ his appanage; he has only few troops of infantry, his means do not permit him to entertain more; being naturally inclined to the French, he can be useful to them in intrigues and negotiations that he has a talent for conducting with as much address as success; he knows his interests too well to give his auxiliary troops either to the French or to their rivals. Nizam Ali his brother, by a sudden irruption, would lay hold of the territory of Vizapour as soon as he should see it without troops and would annex it to his dominion, and would do harm to Basalat Jang.

It is however necessary to cultivate the friendship of Basalt Jang whether to be informed of the plots which are hatched by our rivals by means of money or to be favoured in case we should propose to go in again for the old conquests in the north. The province of Condavir which is subject to Vizapour adjoins the rich possessions which the French have lost in the general ruin of their affairs. Basalat Jang does not desire anything so much as to have the French for neighbours in this part of his territories.

The Mahrattas, declared enemies of the Moguls and rarely at peace with them, occupy the western part of the peninsula very far from the sea. These people are warriors after the manner of brigands and plunderers. The cavalry is their principal, strictly speaking their only, force. More greedy for pillage than for conquests, become formidable to the Moguls since about 60 years, by their repeated victories, they have so strongly shaken their empire in carrying their victorious arms right up to the capital, that there is every likelihood that they will revive and retrieve the losses that the victories of Aurangzeb have caused them. This revolution which does not appear to be distant will change the form of government in the Carnatic and will prepare for the Europeans a new policy.

Until these great events develop themselves, the wisest policy is, as far as we can, to keep at a distance this nation famous for its brigandages, the

* Apparently used here for Adoni and Raichur, which once formed part of Bijapur.

plague and the terror of these countries. A part of their army has no other pay than the fruits of pillage and rapine; troops without discipline, without subordination, pillaging friend and foe, they are in every respect well fitted to ruin and devastate the country of those who employ them, yet it would be necessary to pay very dearly for services so little useful. Their alliances, however, ought not to be absolutely rejected. The advantage we can derive from it is to stir them up against our rivals, not only in a vague and uncertain manner, but with a view to obliging them to divide their forces.

In case a rupture prepared at a distance should be ready to break out against the English, a stratagem of which we can draw the advantage is to engage the Mahrattas to declare war on them from the side of Bombay and its rich dependencies, dominions in the neighbourhood of the Mahrattas. Their incursion will necessarily make a diversion which will oblige them to unite their forces and to ask for help to the English of that side in order not to succumb to the effect of (produced by) an enemy who has caused them considerable losses for three years, and who is in a position to cause the greatest of them, if above all they are at peace with Haidar Aly Khan.

By an adroit policy the English have fomented divisions and maintained the war between these two powers. This ruse has lost them (English) money it is true, but it has placed both of them (Mahrattas and Haidar Aly) under the necessity of watching their respective states, and of not going away from them; for as soon as the forces of one of these two powers should be engaged in some distant expedition, the other would not fail to invade the country abandoned as it were to its cupidity, and carry fire and sword into it, and by a total devastation annihilate the domination which opposes itself to its aggrandisement.

It is a work of more than ordinary policy to prepare by negotiations the reunion of these rival powers, that it is dangerous to precipitate it till we may be in a proper situation to benefit by it; let us leave both of them to grow weak, let us leave our rivals to lavish their treasures for postponing a revolution which would come in its time. It is necessary to limit ourselves to maintaining the friendship of the Mahrattas by good words, by vast projects which would reveal a noble pride and by superior forces ready to appear. Above all no promise of money, for if once we take this route in treating with them, it will be difficult to withdraw ourselves from it.

Haidar Aly Khan was a few years ago, without a name, without force or reputation; by steps at first rather slow, but sustained by a constant good fortune, (he) has formed a new power comparable to an impetuous torrent which upsets and destroys all that it meets on its way. Power to-day formidable which balances splendidly that of the Moguls and the Mahrattas, seeking secretly to destroy one by the other. There is his ambition, his policy. The epoch of (his) greatness is a rash enterprise which has brought to him success even beyond his hopes. No one before him, not even the conquerors

of India, had dared to penetrate with an army, up to the coast of Malabar; the impracticable mountains of which the defiles offer to the view only precipices had sheltered till now the princes of this coast from foreign incursion. Haidar Aly Khan has overcome these barriers. The immense treasures accumulated since many centuries have become the prey of the new conqueror, with which his greedy cupidity has not been satisfied. These successes have only provoked his desires, and finding himself in a position to undertake anything, he has sought and still seeks only to seize the treasures of India persuaded that he will dominate everywhere when he will have collected in his coffers the gold and the silver of this part of the peninsula. He makes war, less to aggrandize his domination by new conquests, than to complete the removal of what remains of the specie of India. The Mahrattas are the only ones that have opposed some dams to this torrent; their efforts have not met with constant and decisive success.

This power in spite of all its splendour is not so solidly based as to be of a long duration. The great successes so similar to those that we imagine of the heroes of romance will have probably the same end. Whatever that may be, it is necessary to treat with him and not to neglect any precautions which can postpone or drag on the negotiations. Haidar Aly Khan, puffed up by his success, does not seek the alliance of any person. Though rich, opulent, surrounded by the treasures of India, not only is he not generous, but selfish sometimes to meanness. He promises little to those who attach themselves to him and even this little suffers from difficulties unworthy of a hero. In the negotiations, he will set the highest price on his alliance; in military operations he will desire to act and will act with an entire independence. He will exact above all plenty of munitions, arms, artillery, light and well mounted with troops adequate to its service, he will bind himself to pay everything; but with a generosity little liberal, he will have arrears by which the entire pay will suffer, besides his delays (and) the chicanes which will end only to his profit.

This hero nevertheless despite all his defects is necessary to the French for regaining the ascendancy which they have lost in India, and to despoil their rivals of it. If Haidar Aly Khan acts in concert for suppressing the power of the English, the enterprise will succeed, but he will wish to have the best part in the spoils, and if we dispute him what his cupidity has devoured already, he is capable of turning round against his allies. Save that, it will not be difficult to engage him in an offensive alliance against the English whose prosperity has made him angry. Let us take care about the conditions and the articles of the treaty; let us not flatter ourselves that he will put down the power of the English, to make that of the French succeed to it. He likes neither the one nor the other to more than a moderate extent, but then after we shall have sent him back, content and satisfied, this design, which we shall have held till then in the greatest secret, will begin to develop success.

Nawab Anwaru'd-din Khan of the Carnatic.

From the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* of Burhanu'd-din.¹

(By C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.)

I.—Introduction.

Mir Ismail Khan Abjadi, the poet-laureate at the court of Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah of the Carnatic, was commissioned by his master to write a book in verse describing the events and incidents in the history of the family of Nawab Anwaru'd-din and to call it after his own name. The Nawab ordered in 1195 A. H. Burhanu'd-din, the son of Hasan, and a resident of Natharnagar (Trichinopoly), to compose a history of his dynasty. Accordingly, the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* was written, based, as the author says, not only on the records which were available to Mir Ismail Khan Abjadi, but also on other materials which were made accessible to him. The work consists of an introduction and two books; the introduction gives a brief account of the history of Mir Ismail Khan Abjadi, and describes the occasion for his compiling the *Anwar-Nama*. The first book contains an account of the previous rulers of the Carnatic and of the civil administration of the Nawabs Anwaru'd-din and Walajah till the capture of Pondicherry; and the second book details subsequent facts and events.

The author says that the ancestors of the Nawab's family were of the tribe of Quraysh, residents of Mecca and of the lineage of Hazrat Ibrahim Khalilullah. After six generations the family migrated to Bukhara where they continued to live on for nine generations. Then Fakhru'd-din Asghar, "who is of the sixteenth generation from the beginning of the shining of the rays of Islam", came to India and was appointed by the Sultan of Delhi as Quazi over the town of Badhaun. His successors, for seven generations, lived at Kanauj which had to be abandoned as it was thrown into great confusion owing to the quarrel between the kingdoms of Delhi and Jaunpur, being situated on the border between them. Muhammad Lodd, who was seventh in descent from Fakhru'd-din, went to reside at Gopamau "which was free from the mischief and the reach of the army" and "his descendants who are living in successive generations in that place mention his name with great pride".²

¹ This manuscript is now being translated by Md. Husain Nainar of the Madras University and annotated by the writer.

² The family continued to have probably some interest in the town and *pargana*. Nawab Walajah was very keen on having Gopamau as an *altamgha* grant; and the English requested Nawab Shujau'd-daula, during the Benares Conference, to issue a grant as desired; but his immediate death left the question unsettled. The Calcutta Council obtained the grant from Nawab Asafu'd-daula mainly through the efforts of Sir Eyre Coote, pp. 110, 429 and 432, Letters Nos. 721, 1807, 1808 and 1818 (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. V, 1776-80).

Fifth in descent from him came Muhammad Anwar who took service under the Emperor Aurangzib and got the title of Aqdas, being known as Shaikh Aqdas among the people. He rose to be the Peshkar to the Chief Bakshi and during his pilgrimage to Mecca, he obtained the Sanad of *Farrashi* of the two holy places which was given to him by the Sultan of Rum with his seal and signature. He left for the Deccan in the company of the Emperor in 1683 and died shortly afterwards at Aurangabad.

II.—*Anwaru'd-din's Services.*

His eldest son was Nawab Anwaru'd-din Khan who was of the 29th generation from the beginning of Islam. He got the surname Lashkari, because his birth took place in the army quarters. He grew up in the ways of the pious and the faithful and was taken into the Imperial service after the death of his father, being appointed Peshkar to the Darugha of the Diwan Khana.

Aurangzib granted him the title of Bahadur and a mansab of 2,000, with 2,000 horse. Under Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, he got the title of Shahamat Jung and an increase in his mansab. In the early part of the reign of Muhammad Shah he attained to high rank in the army, was further promoted in his mansab and granted the title of Siraju'd-daula and finally appointed to the post of Deputy Wazir. He joined Nawab Asaf Jah, Nizamu'l-mulk, in the Deccan in 1724.³

While the Nizam was busily occupied in restoring order in the Hyderabad country, Nawab Anwaru'd-din Khan joined him and was commissioned to

³ Nizamu'l-mulk Asaf Jah was Governor of Bijapur at the time of Aurangzib's death; and Shah Alam Bahadur Shah removed the Turanis from the Deccan, possibly on the advice of Zulfiqar Khan who considered them as his personal enemies. Nawab Asaf Jah was consequently appointed *Subahdar* of Oudh and *Faujdar* of Gorakhpur (Decr. 1707); he retired into private life on the death of Bahadur Shah; and in the beginning of the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he was made Governor of the whole Deccan with the title Nizamu'l-mulk, but was soon after superseded by Sayyad Hussain Ali. He then went to Moradabad as its *Faujdar* and subsequently as the Governor of Patna (1719). In the confusion that followed the deposition of Farukh Siyar, he was offered by the dominant Sayyads the Governorship of Malwa. But the appointment was revoked; and the Nizam apprehended worse consequences and began to prepare for self-defence. He crossed the Narmada, occupied the fort of Asirgarh, defeated Sayyad Hussain Ali's lieutenants in the Deccan at the battles of Khandwa and Balapur and made himself master of the six subhas of the Deccan to which he was appointed Viceroy by an Imperial *firman* which the Sayyads procured for him, hoping to propitiate him thereby (1720). After the fall of Sayyad party, when the Turani faction had become dominant at court, he returned to Delhi as Wazir in 1722. Disgusted with the incompetency, corruption and frivolousness of the court, the Nizam resigned the Wazirate and retired to the Deccan where he established himself at Aurangabad in 1724. His enemies at Delhi attempted to supersede him by appointing Mubariz Khan, the Governor of Hyderabad, to be the *Subahdar* of the whole of the Deccan. He was not on good terms with Nizamu'l-mulk and readily accepted the offer. Supported by the Nawabs of Kurnool, Cudappah, Arcot and other places in the south, Mubariz Khan fought with the Nizamu'l-mulk and got defeated and slain at Sakhar Khere, 80 miles from Aurangabad. Nizamu'l-mulk then marched to Hyderabad and quickly restored order in that country as well as in the Masulipatam and Carnatak regions (1724-25). Muhammad Shah had necessarily to pardon the Nizam for his conduct and confirmed him by a rescript in his government of the Deccan Subhas.

pacify and bring to order the Sarkars of Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, etc., where the Zamindars were very disaffected and turbulent and where he "slew Subna and subdued Ramraz, two mischievous big Zamindars". Nawab Anwaru'd-din had, as his deputy, the famous Rustam Khan, the Governor of Rajahmundry, who is still known to local tradition as Haji Hussain. Anwaru'd-din's administration was vigorous and severe and he was ably seconded by Rustam Khan who was Governor of Rajahmundry for the years 1732-39.⁴ When Nuru'd-din, the son of Rustam Khan, killed him and usurped the governorship and defied the authority of the Nizam, Anwaru'd-din destroyed him and brought under his control the Sarkar of Rajahmundry. Soon afterwards Anwaru'd-din was entrusted with the control and management of the subah of Hyderabad, while Asaf Jah went on an expedition into the Carnatic to restore order there (1743-44). Nawab Anwaru'd-din tried hard to improve agriculture and enforced obedience to order among the retainers of Nasir Jang and his mother. He then fought with Bapu Nayak, the Sirdar of the Marathas,⁵ who, under the orders of the Peishwa, advanced on the Deccan with the object of collecting *chauth*; and he is said to have given battle to the Marathas at Andol (Hindoli) and defeated and driven them away to Poona. Pandit Pradan Peishwa thereupon collected a large army and surrounded Nawab Asaf Jah⁶ who had now returned

⁴ Rustam Khan's rule was one of great vigour. His first object was the total extirpation of the Zamindars, a large number of whom, together with their adherents, he put to death. "The inhabitants in general feared and admired him; and the severe administration... which he now further distinguished by substituting *ameens* or temporary Collectors in the room of the refractory Zamindars, was proverbial for exemplary excellency in the Northern Circars". Appendix to the *Fifth Report* No B 13—James Grant's Survey of the Northern Circars, dated 1786. See also Morris' *Godavary District* (1878), p. 223.

⁵ Bapu Nayak, one of the creditors of the Peishwa Balaji Baji Rao, was possessed of great wealth and was an ally of Raghuji Bhonsle, who took him with him in his Carnatic expedition of 1740-1. Bapu Nayak had, by the interest of Raghuji Bhonsle, obtained the right of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra in farm from Raja Shahu, for the annual sum of seven lakhs of rupees. He experienced, according to Grant Duff, great difficulties and opposition and was ruined in a few years by the heavy charges incurred for maintaining the troops. Anwaru'd-din won a victory over Bapu Nayak's troops on this occasion.

⁶ Nizamul-mulk returned to the Deccan from Delhi in the beginning of 1741 and contrived to put down the rebellion of his son Nasir Jang whom he had left in charge. He then undertook an expedition into the Carnatic which had been in an anarchic condition since the invasion of Raghuji Bhonsle in 1740 and where the new Nawab, Safdar Ali, was assassinated. In January 1743 the Nizam marched from Hyderabad and spent more than a year in the Carnatic in settling its affairs. He recovered Trichinopoly from the hands of the Marathas, conciliated its late Maratha Governor, Murari Rao Ghorapade, by recognising him as the Chief of Gooty and returned to his Subah after appointing Khaja Abdulla Khan to be in charge of the Arcot Subah. The Maratha army was assembled at Satara in the beginning of 1744; and it caused considerable anxiety to Nizamul-mulk; but as is seen here, reconciliation was brought about; and he quietly reached Hyderabad where, finding he had nothing to apprehend from the Marathas, he directed his attention to the affairs of internal government. He appointed Anwaru'd-din Khan at his own request to the government of the Carnatic Payinghat, and his own grandson, Hidayat Muhiu'd-din Khan, better known as Muzaffar Jang, to the Carnatic-Balaghat and conferred on him the district of Adoni in jagir, fixing his head-quarters at Bijapur.

from the Carnatic after having settled its affairs and entrusted the Subah of Arcot to Khaja Abdulla Khan who now accompanied him in order to arrange certain important matters.

Anwaru'd-din marched from Hyderabad with reinforcements after appointing Hazrat Ala (*i.e.*, Muhammad Ali Walajah who was his second son) to act in his place, and joined Nawab Asaf Jah with his other three sons, Mahfuz Khan, Abdul Wahab Khan and Muhammad Najibullah Khan. He boldly declared himself against the advice tendered by Sayyad Lashkar Khan, the first Diwan, and other councillors of Nawab Asaf Jah that war should be averted and arrears of *chauth* paid to the Marathas. His bold attitude is said to have disheartened the Peishwa who let "the reins of firmness slip from his hands and sent messages of peace". The claim of *chauth* was dropped and "the sword of battle replaced in the sheath of peace". Nawab Asaf Jah was greatly pleased and wrote an *arazdasht* to the Emperor praising Anwaru'd-din's qualities and appreciating his distinguished services.

Khaja Abdulla Khan died suddenly the very next morning after he took leave of his master; and the latter who had not even gone half a march from his meeting place with the Peishwa, consulted his four Diwans and Anwaru'd-din Khan for the selection of a suitable person to be appointed to the Nizamat of Arcot. The same day (*i.e.*, 13th day of Safar) Asaf Jah bestowed on him robes of honour and the Nizamat of Arcot. Anwaru'd-din Khan pleaded with Nizamu'l-mulk for the release of the Navayats who had been imprisoned and brought along from the Carnatic as they had created much trouble. The Nizamu'l-mulk for the release of the Navayats who had been imprisoned and their chiefs, Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore, had contrived to bring about the assassination of Safdar Ali, the late Nawab. Anwaruddin did not mind the mischief that these might sow and enabled them to return to the Carnatic honourably.

Burhanu'd-din makes a diversion at this point and traces the history of the Carnatic Nawabs and of the foundation and growth of Arcot which was originally only the camping ground of the army of Zulfikar Khan. Here he tells us how Daud Khan succeeded Zulfikar Khan and in his own turn appointed his *diwan*, Sadatullah Khan, one of the Navayats in the Naib at Arcot; then he gives the origin of the Navayats and of the rise of Sadatu'llah from a low position. The rule of Ali Dost Khan, the nephew of Sadatu'llah, Husain Dost Khan's treacherous seizure of Trichinopoly from its Hindu Queen, the invasion of Tanjore by Safdar Ali, son of Dost Ali, the invasion of the Marathas under Raghuji Bhonsle and Fatteh Singh, the defeat and death of Nawab Dost Ali at their hands, the making of peace with the victors by Safdar Ali and the capture of Trichinopoly by the Marathas who carried off Chanada Sahib as a prisoner with them—these form the subject matter of the next chapter. Next, the rule of the new Nawab Safdar Ali is detailed; herein we are told how Dost Ali's diwan, Muhammad Husain Khan Tahir,

the Jaghirdar of Ambur and a Navayat was removed from his office and replaced by Mir Asadullah Khan, the Jaghirdar of Chetput. This ill-feeling between these two was heightened by the religious differences between them, the latter being a believer in the Twelve Imams. Muhammad Husain Khan Tahir approached Ghulam Murtaza Khan of Vellore and instigated him to murder Nawab Safdar Ali; the latter and his wife who was a sister of the Nawab had the unsuspecting Safdar Ali poisoned; and when the poison rendered him unconscious, they sent some murderers to despatch him. Murtaza Khan hastened to Arcot, soon after the murder of his brother-in-law, imprisoned the Diwan Mir Asadullah, and secured the throne with the help of Husain Khan Tahir. But the Tahirans became treacherous towards him also; and a few days later he escaped to Vellore where he shut himself up. Since confusion prevailed at Arcot, and the young son of Safdar Ali, by name Muhammad Saeed Sadatullah Khan, was not able to assert himself. Nawab Asaf Jah who was waiting for an opportunity to bring the Subah of Arcot also under his control, came down into the Carnatic, entrusted the government to Khaja Abdulla Khan, and after getting possession of Trichinopoly from the Marathas, returned to the Deccan taking with him a number of the Navayat mischief-makers. Khaja Abdulla Khan was a Turani noble like his master, Asaf Jah; and after he had stayed a short time at Arcot, he left one of his relatives Khaja Nimatulla Khan in charge and accompanied Asaf Jah to the Deccan, with the object of effecting certain reforms in the administration. We saw how he suddenly died on the day of his intended return to Arcot and how Nawab Anwaru'd-din Khan was chosen in his place.

III.—*Anwaru'd-din in the Carnatic.*

The writer now proceeds to give a brief account of the various nations of Frangi (European) merchants who came for trade purposes and settled on the coast of the Carnatic; the account of the East India Company is somewhat fuller than those of the other nations, particularly their settlement at Madras with the aid of the Damarla Nayak and the gradual accretion of neighbouring villages into their hands, and their exaltation from the position of traders into that of rulers.

The Nizamat of Anwaru'd-din Khan at Arcot is described then. He first effected the subjugation of Mir Asadullah who proved refractory and the recovery of all arrears of tribute from Raja Pratap Singh of Tanjore. Raja Sampat Rai who was of the Kayasth community and was a qanungo at Gopamau, was raised to be the Diwan and Rai Manulal, who was a servant of the Nawab during his Governorship of Hyderabad, became the Mir Munshi. When the Tahirans created further trouble and at their instigation an Afghan mercenary assassinated the young Muhammad Saeed, the son of Nawab Safdar

Ali, Anwaru'd-din Khan rigorously punished the Afghans and expelled many of them from the Subah.⁷

Bapu Nayak, the Maratha leader, advanced against the Deccan with a large body of horsemen and Asaf Jah wrote an urgent letter to Anwaru'd-din to come to his help and the latter, in spite of his being over seventy years old, immediately, marched north with a body of twelve thousand cavalry and was joined by his son Hazrat Ala Muhammad Ali, who had been left at Hyderabad as his father's deputy. The rulers of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Savanur, Sira Bednur and Mysore and the Jaghirdar of Adoni (Muzaffar Jang) all joined him with their contingents which totalled in all 69,000 men. The two armies met face to face with each other near Baswapattan. Our historian tells us how for one week the fight went on and Bapu Nayak was pursued in the direction of Trichinopoly and how the Nawab defeated him for the third time at Basawapattan after fighting hard for three days and nights. Finally the enemy ran away in the direction of Poona and the victorious Nawab turned back, after despatching letters of congratulation on the success to the Nizam and shortly afterwards reached Arcot in safety.

The French Governor M. Dupleix had for some time been intriguing with the Navayat nobles and got their support for his scheme of driving the English out of Madras and Fort St. David. In A. H. 1158, he captured Madras whereupon, Anwaru'd-din became displeased and despatched Mahfuz Khan

⁷ The Boy-Prince was specially recommended to the care of Anwaru'd-din by the Nizam. The abilities of Anwaru'd-din justified his appointment; but he being a stranger and the Navayats having a strong hold in the country, there was great dissatisfaction among the people. Wilks (2nd Edn., Vol. I., page 158) says that Anwaru'd-din was tainted with the suspicion of having poisoned Khaja Abdulla Khan, his predecessor; and as he was the guardian of the boy-prince who was his reputed successor, his character did not exempt him from the imputation of being concerned in this murder also. Murtaza Khan was also implicated in this affair. "The Navayats acquit both Anwaru'd-din and Murtaza Khan and transfer the suspicion to Muhammad Hussain Khan Tahir and to Ghulam Imam Hussain Khan". An old man who was a personal attendant on the murdered prince and with whom Wilks had a conversation on the subject, said that general suspicion had fixed itself on Murtaza Khan and Anwaru'd-din. An extract of the Madras Council's letter to the Company, dated 5th September 1744, goes to absolve him from even a knowledge of the guilt. "The death of this unfortunate young lad and, the manner of it has greatly affected our Nawab (Anwaru'd-din) as he was sensible it would occasion Nizam's great displeasure, for his not having taken more care of him; and had not his age and services pleaded strong in his favour, he certainly had lost his post. His negligence was interpreted at first by Nizam as a design in favour of his own son (Mahfuz Khan, the second son, having been designated Deputy Nawab and his successor, though Burhanuddin merely states that he, and the 4th and 5th sons of the Nawab merely assisted him in his office); but after he (Nizam) had read the note of Moortas Ali Khan (found in the turban of one of the assassins) in which the Nawab's name was mentioned as one they had marked out for a victim, it softened him a great deal; nevertheless he did not fail to reproach him severely in all his letters for his great negligence towards the lad.

The despatch of the Madras Council to the Company, dated February 15, 1745, stated that in December Anwaru'd-din marched to join the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool against the Marathas while the Nizam sent 10,000 horse. Though the armies were near each other, no action had as yet taken place. "The Nawab offers a sum of money but the Marathas demand Trichinopoly. If the latter should win a victory the country will suffer severely both from them and from their poligars who always seize such occasion to plunder. So it is hoped the affair will be accommodated". (Madras Despatches, 1744-1755, Ed. by H. Dodwell, p. 9.)

to expel their garrison from the conquered town.⁸ But the French "on the hint of the Navayat nobles had got rid of fear or courtesy for the Sarkar". They fell suddenly upon Mahfuz Khan and compelled him to retreat with great loss. After this defeat—which was sustained on the banks of the Adyar River to the south of Madras—Anwaru'd-din ordered his third son, Hazrat Ala Muhammad Ali, who had reached Arcot in the company of his father and was now on his march back to Hyderabad, to turn back and go to the aid of the English and Fort St. David. Muhammad Ali accordingly marched through Arni and Ginji and came to the neighbourhood of Fort St. David. Dupleix's letter to the prince and the latter's reply to it are detailed by Burhanuddin in his own manner. The so-called first French expedition against Fort St. David fought an action with Muhammad Ali's horse and had to retreat with some loss of supplies and a few killed and wounded (December 20, 1746).⁹ This victory is deemed by Burhanuddin as the first formation of the union and friendship between Hazrat Ala and the English; and he follows up this with an enumeration of the various occasions on which Hazrat Ala saved the English from destruction. After some negotiations in the course of which half-hearted attempts were made at a compromise on both sides, both Muhammad Ali and Mahfuz Khan who had joined him consented to make peace and returned to Arcot after getting valuable presents from the French.¹⁰

Anwaru'd-din Khan resolved now to divide the Carnatic among his sons and with a view to keep for himself Hazrat Ala Muhammad Ali, gave him the management of the taluq of Kanchi (Conjeevaram) and other places and kept him near. Mahfuz Khan was sent to the Subah of Trichinopoly. Abdul Wahab Khan was granted the District of Nellore; and the last son Najibullah Khan was entrusted with the government of South Arcot. Mahfuz Khan proceeded to Trichinopoly which, however, he left in charge of his *naib*, Muniru'd-din Khan, and himself went on a tour to Madura. But a serious dispute occurred in the fort of Trichinopoly between Muniru'd-din Khan and the one Anwar Ali. The old Nawab, hearing of the disturbance, hastened quickly to that fort together with Hazrat Ala and the Diwan, Raja Sampat Rai. When he heard that Mahfuz Khan had entrusted Madura to the younger brother of Anwar Ali, he immediately marched south, got Mahfuz Khan to submission and after taking possession of Trichinopoly gave the fort and the Subah to the charge of Hazrat Ala Muhammad Ali. Raja Sampat Rai who was always a partisan of Mahfuz Khan, tried hard to restore the latter into the

⁸ For details of the Nawab's attitude see C. S. Srinivasachari's *The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Anandaranga Pillai*—III, in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, part I.

⁹ It was after this defeat that Dupleix was convinced that any open attempt on Fort St. David would be futile, so long as the Muhammadans were there and he now began a serious correspondence with the Nawab and his sons persuading them to withdraw their troops. Before this date, his attitude was one of bluster.

¹⁰ See *Historical Material in the Diary of Anandaranga Pillai*—IV; in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, part II.

Nawab's favour and to get him reinstated to the Subah of Trichinopoly, but did not succeed.

Hazrat Ala changed the name of Trichinopoly to Natharnagar, in honour of its saint, Hazrat Nathar Wali, built an illuminated dome over his tomb and also a beautiful mosque at the place known as Musjid-i-Muhammadi.

Sampat Rai now turned his attention to another quarter and got a recommendation from Nawab Asaf Jah himself that Mahfuz Khan might be made *naib* to the Nawab of the Carnatic; but the partisans of Hazrat Ala contrived that the Subahs of Trichinopoly and Nellore should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Naib. Soon Anwaru'd-din found that it was not dignified for him to stay at Arcot with Mahfuz Khan and departed for Trichinopoly where he was welcomed by Hazrat Ala and stayed on honourably.

It was now that Hidayat Muhiu'd-din Khan, Muzaffar Jang, took advantage of the death of Nawab Asaf Jah (June, 1748) and on the march of Nasir Jang, who assumed the dignity of Nizam, to the north in response to a call from the Emperor, raised the standard of rebellion. Nasir Jang was subsequently asked by the Emperor not to proceed to Delhi; he returned from the Narmada whose bank he had reached and stayed at Aurangabad for the rainy season. Now Hussain Dost Khan Chanda Sahib, who was a prisoner in Maratha hands, was released from captivity. He now joined Muzaffar Jang and persuaded him in spite of his great attachment to Nawab Anwaru'd-din, to advance against the Carnatic, he assured him that the Navayat nobles and the French would help him against the Nawab and finally both descended into the Carnatic. Meanwhile, Anwaru'd-din gave orders to Mahfuz Khan and Najibullah Khan to join him with their forces left instructions to Hazrat Ala to preserve the fort of Trichinopoly at all costs and to bring the English over to his side and himself departed towards Arcot. He now sought help from the English to cover his deficiency in artillery and encamped in the plain of Pallikonda between Ambur and Vellore. Muhammad Husain Khan Tahir urged him, with treachery in his mind, to choose the plain opposite to the mountain fortress of Ambur as a fit field for battle and Anwaru'd-din did so trustingly. He wrote a letter of peace to Muzaffar Jang and the latter agreed to become friends but his resolution of peace was broken by the persuasion of Chanda Sahib, and by two risaldars who began the action¹¹ without his authority. Mahfuz Khan was in charge of the vanguard and was easily routed by the French guns on the enemy's side; and Anwaru'd-din now ordered the right and left wings to advance. Husain Khan Tahir now turned his own

¹¹ Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang are said to have advanced through the Damalcheruvu Pass to the N. W. of Chittoor. The French effected a junction with them, routed Anwaru'd-din at Ambur and then occupied Arcot. Ambur did not lie on the road which would lead an invading army from Damalcheruvu to Arcot.

Mr Dodwell (Introduction to Vol. VI of the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, pp. 7 and 8) queries why Anwaru'd-din should have taken his post at Ambur or why Chanda Sahib should have turned aside from Arcot to meet him. We see in this book how the treacherous Hussain Khan Tahir, the Jaghirdar of Ambur persuaded the Nawab to encamp before his fort; and we see also the treachery of the Tahiran as well as the manner in which Muzaffar Jang was dissuaded out of his inclination to make peace with the old Nawab.

cannon against the Nawab's army. The Nawab's troops were easily shattered and he himself was slain while Mahfuz Khan and Najibullah Khan were made prisoners. Anwaru'd-din died on the 16th day of Shaban, 1162 A. H., when he was 77 years of age. His body was interred at the Juma Masjid at Arcot and later removed to Hyderabad and interred by the side of the shrine of Murshid Shah Wali-ulla.

A Note on the Tanjore Maharajah Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library.

(By Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle, M.R.A.S.)

"Perhaps the most remarkable library in India is that of the Rajah of Tanjore" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

In the words of Shrimant Khasa Sahib Pawar, Home Member, Gwalior Durbar, who welcomed the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission, "the visit of this august body, viz., the Commission, for the first time, to an Indian State, would create the necessary interest in future in historical research and would indirectly prove that so far as interests of History were concerned, the Indian States had much to contribute towards the study of history." It is so. In the Tanjore Palace Library which was once the property of an Indian State, there are works of Marathi writers such as Madhavaswami, Rama Pundit, Meruswami, Gangadhara and also manuscripts including one named, "Sivabharata" (in Sanskrit and in Tamil) dealing with the ancestry and achievements of the Great Sivaji and his forefathers, which is considered to be an important contribution to his biography.

The manuscripts in the Library are the result of three hundred years' collection, firstly, by the Telugu Nayak Kings of Tanjore, and secondly, after 1675, by the Maratha Princes of Tanjore. The manuscripts are of different value and come from different sources. Some of the palm-leaf manuscripts belong to the earlier period, but the greater part was collected in the last and present centuries. All the Nagari manuscripts belong to the Maratha times and a large number of these were collected by Rajah Serfoji at the time of his visit to Benares during 1820—1830. Rajah Sivaji, his successor, added a few. It is a well known fact that the Maratha rulers were themselves scholars and artists and patrons of scholars and artists first, and soldiers and statesmen next. King Sahaji of Tanjore was known as the "Bhoja of Tanjore" and during his reign, Tanjore held intellectual hegemony over South India—as stated in the "Maratha Rajahs of Tanjore." There are now 30,000 manuscripts in palm-leaf and paper.

Another important series of valuable records which are preserved carefully in the Saraswathi Mahal Palace Library at Tanjore, relates to the records of the administration of the Tanjore Kingdom by the Maratha rulers. The records are in three languages Tamil, English, and Marathi in Modi script;

they are either in paper bundles or in cadjan bundles. These were separated from 2,124 cloth bundles of paper records, 1,074 cadjan rolls and 1,601 loose papers mostly in small packets or knots and cadjans. The period covered by the records is about 178 years, from the time of Pratap Singh Maharajah who ruled from 1740 to 1763, down to 1918 during the regime of the Palace Receiver. The records relate to the immovable properties under the Maratha rule as well as the daily administration of the Maratha Kingdom—records relating to the various Mahals of the Palace household such as Jamdarkhana, Pothi Mahal, Jarkarkhana, Kottiyam, Jiratkhana, Thatti Mahal, Vatuli Mahal, Sangita Mahal, Saraswathi Mahal, etc., are also available for the above period.

The following is extracted from the Administration Report of the Tanjore Library for 1929-30 :—

A fairly large number of manuscripts in the Modi script of the Marathi language remain to be described and catalogued, but this work cannot be taken up for want of funds. The Marathi records in Modi of the office of the Receiver of the Tanjore Palace Estate which came to be read and classified by the Honorary Secretary in his capacity of Commissioner in O. S. 3 of 1929 on the file of the Court of the District Judge of Tanjore West, were discovered to contain valuable information about historical matters, and the civic, educational and sanitary and other details of the administration of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore. The proceedings of the Courts of justice—the Mudrita Sabha, the Dharma and other Sabhas of the Rajahs, were also found among the Modi records. The following paragraph from the Commissioner's report gives a general idea of the historical matter available amongst them :—

“ Occasionally, records relating to some matter of historical or other public interest turned up. The 9th head or class is a heterogeneous group and comprises many different matters. The Danes obtained from the Nayak Rajahs of Tanjore under a grant in 1620, Tranquebar, and a few villages adjoining it; they continued to occupy them till 1845 when the British East India Company acquired them by purchase (the Tanjore District Manual by the late Dewan Bahadur T. Venkasami Rao, page 124). The Danes were paying an annual subsidy to the Rajahs of Tanjore and the British continued the payment till about 1852. Papers relating to the payment of the above subsidy are found in Bundle No. 1, sub Nos. 44-57, etc., on the top shelf of the first rack. The exact date of the birth of the last Sivaji Maharajah is not known. Papers relating to his tonsure in childhood, etc., may help to fix that date. There are again papers relating to his several marriages, of his installation and of his death. Papers relating to similar events in the lives of some of the preceding Rajahs are also found in the records. There are papers to show that the Rajahs were alive to their civic duties. The provision made by Serfoji Maharajah for water supply by the repairs to the big Sevappa Naicken Tank outside the fort walls and the protected Sivaganga tank inside the fort, the institution of a filtering or other device called the

Jala Sustram. (ஜல சூத்ரம்) in the aqueduct leading from the bigger to the smaller tank, the provision made by that Rajah for effective drainage of the fort by construction of masonry drains in the main and small streets of Tanjore, the working of an institution similar to that of the Municipality called the Nagara Parishkara Sabha for the proper sanitation of the town, etc., are all found among the records. There were Courts of justice established by the Rajahs called the Mudrita Sabha, Dharma Sabha, etc. To a student interested in studying the legal systems of procedure in vogue in former days, the records containing the proceedings of these Sabhas will be of much use. Records relating to the establishment and maintenance of Vedapatasalas, schools of art, etc., and of the Saraswathi Mahal Palace library now called the Tanjore Maharajah Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library are found among the records. There are also records relating to the levy of land and sea customs and of excise duties by the Tanjore Rajahs and by the East India Company. During the invasion of the country by Hyder Ali, it appears that the idols of Sri Thiagarajaswamy of Tiruvalur, of Rajagopalaswamy of Mannargudi, Sri Kamakshi Amba of Conjeeveram and idols of other places were brought to the Tanjore Fort for safety. Paper sub No 1 of Bundle No 1466 on the top shelf of Rack No. 29, gives an account of the honors paid to these deities when they came to Tanjore. There is a notification in Tamil of 1820 of a pearl fishery at Negapatam. There are some complete and incomplete issues of the *Fort St. George* and *Tanjore District Gazettes* of various dates from 1886 to 1905. These and similar records of general public interest are classed together under one group. Col. 11 of the tabular statement of the classification of the records will show the particular number and sub number and the bundle or roll and the shelf where these interesting records will be found."

The Honorary Secretary applied to the District Judge of Tanjore for a gift of the important records indicated above to the library, as they were not of any personal interest to the parties to the suit, and the District Judge was pleased to grant the request. These Modi records are now secured in 27 bundles and are preserved in the library. These required to be studied and described in detail but this work could not now be undertaken for want of funds. Besides these records, there is reason to believe that there are similar Marathi papers of historical and other interest among the records of the Collector and Political Agent of Tanjore, and it will be a valuable addition to the knowledge now available to research scholars if these records also are studied and classified.

Besides the Sanskrit and Marathi manuscripts, there are also a number of books and manuscripts in almost all the Indian and European languages and on almost all branches of human knowledge. Special mention may here be made of the books and manuscripts in Tamil, Telugu and English on account of their number and importance.

From the above it will be clear that there is ample material still awaiting further investigation and critical scrutiny by competent scholars in research

work not only among the priceless treasures of manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library but also in the inscriptions in the famous temple of Brihadiswara in Tanjore. At any rate, we possess enough material of a really historical character to reconstruct successfully the daily administration of a Hindu Kingdom like the Maratha Principality of Tanjore, for more than a century before the advent of British Rule in India. Besides the Marathi records, references to historical and literary incidents lie imbedded in the voluminous Marathi and other works—in paper and palm-leaf that were produced under the patronage of the Maratha Rulers during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries—works that are preserved with great care in the Tanjore Library.

Fragments from the Records of Devi Shri Ahilya Bai Holkar.

(By Sardar Rao Bahadur M.V. Kibe, M.A.)

Below are six documents from the records kept at Maheshwar, the old capital of the Holkars. They were brought to Indore for classification, etc., in the opening years of this century. A few were copied and calendared but before the work could be finished the records were destroyed in a fire to a wing of the Palace, where they were kept, in 1909.

The present fragments are copies made at the time and found in the papers of the late Col. C. E. Luard, C.I.E., who took a keen interest in history. Sorting of papers from the burnt records is still going on.

Of the Documents, herewith attached four are letters addressed by Malharrao I to his daughter-in-law Ahilya Bai (of sacred memory). One is a letter addressed to her by the son of Divan Chandrachud and the last document is a secondary bill of exchange, the terms of which throw a flood of light on the customs and history of the times. This covers a period from January 1765 to March 1766. They relate to the doings of Malharrao Holkar in Northern India. They also show what a leading part the pious lady Ahilyabai, took in the stirring events of the time. The documents are thus useful to the events of the Marathi History in general and of the life of Devi Shri Ahilyabai in particular.

I.—“ Despatched 31st January 1765.”

To Chiranjiv Ahilyabai. From Malharji Holkar. After blessings. You were on the occasion of your departure, told that without stopping either at Agra or Mathura (you should) make rapid marches and reach Gwalior with all your retinue. But now it is heard that you will halt at Mathura for three days. Therefore you have not done well in halting at Mathura against the orders given to you at the time of your departure. If you have not to listen to us and do what comes to your mind then you may well visit holy places. Now this letter is written to you so that you should not stop at

Mathura even to drink water, but proceed to Gwalior after crossing the Chambal. You may halt there for four or five days. You should keep there your big artillery and arrange for its ammunition as much as possible, but on no account should you stop this side (north) of Gwalior. Afterwards you should act as we may direct from time to time. The big artillery should be kept at Gwalior and you should proceed further after making proper arrangements for its expenses for a month. On the march you should arrange for military posts being located for the protection of the road. Dated the 9th Saban. Blessings. Date of the receipt of the letter 12th Saban. Summa Khamas 1174, Magha.

II.—“*Received 2nd February 1765.*”

To Pure like the Ganges water Mother Ahilya Bai Saheb from Servant Krishnarao Gangadhar. Blessings. Requests that knowing the welfare of this side, your own may be communicated to me. The receipt of your honours reply sent with a special runner caused great delight. Pray for the same favour to continue. As regards news from here Najibkhan and the Jat were made to meet amicably and the latter was sent away. Najibkhan will also resume his business. He is going by stages to settle Sakurabad, Itwa Phafundkara, Kuda, etc. Afterwards he has to arrange for the settlement of our territory occupied by trans Rohillas and Ahmadvkhan Pathan and to help Suja-Ud-Dowla and to do similar works. Whatever is to be usefully done he will be after it. Be always kindly fully writing. You will know other matters from what Shrimant Subhedar Saheb has written. Be it known to you. Dated 9th Ramjan. Summa Khamas San 1174 Phalgun. Date of receipt 11th Sawal Summa Khamas San 1174.

III.—“*Despatched 23rd February 1765.*”

To Chiranjiv Ahilyabai from Malharji Holkar. Know our welfare and inform yours. Your letter has been received and its contents known. You wrote that as fodder was not available at Gwalior you were taking the artillery to Saugor. In these circumstances, having made proper arrangements of fodder and foodstuffs for the draft bullocks you should keep artillery with Tajus(?) cannon there, and proceed to Indore. After arriving there you should not fail to arrange for the administration of Sendhwa and Sultanpur. Now about affairs here we write to you. We have now left Delhi. We are going in the direction of Bundelkhand from Antervedi. As regards (our) future plans we shall do whatever may turn out to be of use. Know this. Dated 2nd Ramjan. What more to write. Blessings.

IV.—“*Despatched 28th February 1765.*”

To Chiranjiv Ahilya Bai. From Malharji Holkar. Blessings. After knowing our welfare be writing yours. Further. One or two letters had

been sent to you to send¹ here. It is heard that you all intended to come with (her). As regards this, our nature is known to you. Therefore do you think your coming without permission would be tolerated? After this if you care for our wishes, after sending (her) with Mr Bahiro Anant and Mr Govind Somaraj you proceed to Sironj, with the artillery. We shall not tolerate if Chiranjiv Malerao, etc., come here. Minding what is written, act accordingly. Abdalli has crossed the borders. Sujjaud-Ud-Dowla and all Rohillas are together. Gilcha (Abdalli) is coming to Delhi. What shall be our further programme? Whatever we think useful we shall do. You should go to Sironji by stages without an hour's delay. Do not stop anywhere *en route*. Send (her) by way of Wateshwar. Date of despatch 7th Ramjan. Summa Khamas San 1174.

V.—“*Received 4th November 1765.*”

To Chiranjiv Ahilyabai. From Malharji Holkar. Blessings. Further. Knowing the welfare of this place write yours. We have already written to you our news, which you must have learnt from it. The present news of this place is:—On the 11th after leaving Delhi we have come to Kanawas near Anupshahr. Here we shall perform the Holi. Afterwards what we shall deem proper we shall do. Najibkhan is dealing with the Gilcha (Abdalli). It is rumoured that Abdalli has come this side of Sarhind. Najibkhan has been sent towards him. What was necessary to support him (Najibkhan) has been done. Further support we should render according to necessity. We shall halt on the banks of the Ganges so long as definite news is not received. After we have definite news of the Gilchas we shall go towards Sakurabad. Moreover. Letters were sent to you with the messenger (runner) Deva. On their receipt you may be making arrangements for sending (her)². But the roads are not safe. Reliable escort is not available. Therefore send no body if none has been sent (*i.e.*, if she has not left). You will halt at Gwalior. We are coming to the district shortly. After coming here if we wish to call you we shall send for you. The messenger has informed that you have reduced a fort belonging to the Rana of Gohad by means of bombardment. Therefore you stop at Gwalior and manufacture balls for cannons and guns mounted on camels in order to replenish your ammunition. We have to punish the Rana of Gohad in the near future. If there be reliable escort and you are satisfied, then alone send (her). Otherwise let (her) stay there. Date of despatch 11th Ramjan. What more to write. Blessings. Date of receipt 23rd Ramjan Summa Khamas Sitain San 1174.

Supplement to the above.

Blessings, to long lived Ahilyabai. Further. Whenever you have to reduce a fortress of the Gohad Chief send adequate number of artillery. In

¹ Here Malharji refers to his wife by name Banabai.

² Banabai, wife of Malharji.

no case should you be entrenched before a fort. As far as possible get the object achieved by means of prestige. Depending upon another, do not send artillery at a distance from you. Maintaining the influence of the artillery accomplish the result. Dated 11th Ramjan. Blessings. Date of receipt 23rd Ramjan Summa Khamas Sitain 1174.

VI.—“*Despatched 21st March 1766.*”

From Subhedar Rajeshri Malharji Holkar.

Dated Saval 9th at Gwalior Summa Sitain San 1174 (a few words are illegible).

Letter to long-lived Ahilyabai that we had to reduce some fortresses belonging to the Gohad Chief. We bombarded them and restored the administration of Mr. Govind Khemraj. Now we have to fight the Jats. People have to be fed. Therefore we have obtained here Rs. 2,00,000 (two lakhs) from Khetsi Karmasi (and) this letter is written to you. Therefore as soon as you receive it give to the financier the sum of rupees two lakhs and obtain his receipt. As soon as you receive this letter pay the amount. Do not at all procrastinate if you have any concern for us. Act so that the financier receives the amount without loss.³

(Assurances in this behalf) have been given by Sou. Harkabai on the occasion of a dinner to gentlemen and (they were repeated) by Vaidya in the Darbar tent.

I.—*Despatched 31st January 1765.*

श्री

चिरंजीव अहिल्याबाई यांस प्रती मल्हारजी होळकर आशिरवाद उपरो तुम्हांस जाते समयीं सांगोतले कीं, मथुरेस अगर आये यासी कांहीं मुकाम न करितां भारी भारी मजली करून ग्वालियर पर्यंत इजाडून जाणें. म्हणून ऐसे असतां तुम्हो मथुरेसो दोन तीन मुकाम करणार असें ऐकिले. ऐसो यासो जाते समयीं समस्त आज्ञा केलो असतां त्या गोष्टी सर्व एकीकडे ठेवून मथुरेसी मुकाम केलें हें उत्तम नसे. आम्हीं सांगितले तें नकरावे आणि आपल्याच चित्तास येईल तसें करणें असले तरी सुखरूप तोर्थें करून असणें. सांप्रत पत्र लिहिलें आहे. तरी इतकी-यावरी पाणो पिण्यासी देखील मथुरेसो न राहतां थोर थोर मजला करून चमल उतरून ग्वालहेरोस जाणें तेथें बनेल तरी पांच चार मुकाम करावे त्या स्थली थोर तोफखाना ठेवून त्याचे गोळे व जंबूरीयोयाचे गोळ्याची तजवीज होईल तितके करावे परंतु ग्वालहेरी अलीकडे एक मुकाम न करणें. मागाजन वरचे वर लिहून त्या प्रमाणें वर्तणूक करणें, तोफखाना थोर ग्वालहेरीस ठेवून त्याची मद्दियाभराची

³ Some matter is unintelligible.

बेगनी खर्चाची करून देऊन मग पुढे तुम्ही जाणें चौकी पाहारा मार्गाचा जावता करित जावा छ ६ सावान हे आशिर्वाद.

मोर्तब सुद.

पो छ १२ सावन सु खमस सन ११७४ माघमास

II.—Received 2nd February 1765.

श्रीमोरया

गंगाजल निर्मल मातोश्री अहिल्याबाई साहेबांचे

सेवशी

अज्ञांकित कृष्णराव गंगाधर अनेक आशीर्वाद विज्ञापना उपरो येथील कुशल जाणून स्वकीय लेखनाज्ञा करीत गेलें पाहजे. साहेबाकडून अजुरदा काशिदा बरोबर पत्रोत्तरीं बळत आनंद झाला. ऐसेच सदैव कृपापत्री शेवकांतें साथ लिहीत जावें इकडोल वर्तमान तरी नजीबखान जाठ याच्या भेटो परस्पर सौरस्थ-युक्त करून जाठास मार्गस्थ केलें. व नजीबखान ही आपलें उद्योगास लागतील पुढें कूच दरकूच सकुराबाद, विटाबें, फपुंदकडा, कुडा कौरे महालाचा बंदोबस्त करावया जात असतो, तदोत्तर रोहिले पलीकडोल व अहमदखान पठाण यांनीं आपले मुक्कामात अम्मल केला. त्याचा जावसाल व सुण्यादोला याचो कुमक वगैरे कामें आहेत. त्यांत उपयोगी कर्तव्य तिकडे जातील. सदैव कृपापत्रीं साथ लिहीत जावें. वरकड वर्तमान श्रमंत सुभेदार साहेबीं लिहीलें आहे त्याजवरून कळेल. मेवेशीं श्रुत होय हे विनंती छ ६ माहे रमजान सु खमस सन ११७४ फावगुन मास पो छ ११ सवाल सु खमस सन ११७४

III.—Despatched 23rd February 1765.

श्री

चिरंजीव अहिल्याबाई यासी प्रती मल्हारजो होलकर उपरो येथील कुशल जाणून स्वकीय लेखन करीत जाणें, विशेष तुझीं पत्र पाठविलें तें पोचलें लेखनार्थ अवगत झाला. ग्वाल्हेरोस तोफखाना ठेवावपाची चारीयाची सीय नव्हती त्याज करिता शिरोजसे घेऊन जाती. तेथें तोफखाना ठेउं झणून लिहीलें. ऐसी यासी तोफखाना शिरोजीं ठेवून तेथें बैलास चारा दाणीयाची सीय उत्तम प्रकारें करून देऊन ताजूस तोफा सुद्धा ठेवणें. आणि तुझीं इंदूरो जाणें. तेथें गेलीयावरी

सैंधवीयाची व सुलतान पुरचा बंदीबद्ध जरूर करणे. वरकड इकडोल मजकूर तुझांस लिहीला. प्रस्तुत दिक्कीहून कुच जाले. अंतरबेदीतून बुधेलखंडचे सुमा येत असो पुढील मनसब उपयोगी पाहूं तैसा घडून येईल जाणीजे छ २ समजान बहूत काय लिहीणें हे आशोरबाद मोतैब सुद ।

IV.—Despatched 28th February 1765.

श्री

चिरंजीव अहिल्याबाई यांसो प्रती मल्हारजी होळकर आशीर्वाद उपरी येथील कुशल जाणोन तुझी आपले लिहीत जाणे विशेष इकडे पाठवून द्यावया करितां अगोदर एक दोन पत्रें तुझांस लिहीली होती त्या समागमे अवध्याचा यावयाचा विचार होता ह्याणुन ऐकिले. ऐसी यांसी आमचा मर्जीचा प्रकार तुझांस विदीतआहे. ऐसी असतां आम्हे शिवाय येणे कामास येईल कीं काय अतः पर आमच्या मर्जीची दरकार आहे तरी इकडे रवानगी करावयास लिहील्या प्रमाणे राजश्री बहिरो अंनत व राजश्री गोविंद सामराज याज बराबरी रवानगी करून तुझी तोफखाना सह वर्तमान सरोजंसी जाणे. चिरंजीव राजश्री मालराव वगैरे कोणीही येऊ लागले तरी कामास यणार नाही असे ध्यानात आणुन लिहील्या प्रमाणे वरतणुक करणे अबादालो सरहिंद अलिकडे आला. सुजाउदीला वगैरे इराडुन रोहिले एक जागे. गिलच्या दिक्कीस येणार. पुढे मनसब कसा होतो. उपयोगी जाणोन आढलेल तसा केला जाईल तुझी एक घडी विलंब न करिता तोफखानो या सुध्दा दरमजल शिरोजोस जाणे. मधी कोठे न उतरणे आणि लिहील्या प्रमाणे रवानगी वाटेभरचे मार्गाने करणे रा छ ७ रमजान बहूत काय लिहीणें हे आशीर्वाद मोतैब सुद पो छ १३ रमजान सु खमस सन ११७४.

V.—Received 4th March 1765.

श्री

चिरंजीव अहिल्याबाई यास प्रती मल्हारजी होळकर आशिरवाद उपरी येथील कुशल जाणून स्त्रकीय लिहीणें विशेषतः येथील वर्तमान अगोदर तुझांस लिहून पाठविलें आहे. त्यावरून कळेल असो. तूर्त येथील मजकूर तरी दिक्कीहून आमचे कूच होऊन छ ११ रमजानी अनुप शहरानजोक कर्णवास येथे आलों.

या खळीं हुताशनी होईल. तदोत्तर उपयोगी मनसब दिसेल तसा कौल केला जाईल. मिलण्याचे भानगडीस नजीबखाना आहे. अवदाली सरहिंद अली कडे आला झणोन बोलवा भसे. त्याजकडे नजीबखान रवाना केला त्याजकडील तहरद्दाची गरजपूर्ती जलियावरी पुढील बरतूद कारणे ती कव्यांत येईल. ठोक खबर ये तो पर्यंत गंगातीरो मुकाम होतील. गिलच्या कडील बातमी पक्की लागली यावरी सकुराबाद चे सोखे येथेच होईल. दूसरे देवकाशीद या समागमे पत्रे तुम्हास पाठविलीं ते पावोन रवानगीचे तजवीजीत असाल त्यास मार्गाचे ठोक नाहीं भरवशाचे पथक नसे. याज करितां रवानगी केली नसली तरी तूर्त कोणासो इकडे न पाठविणे. तुम्ही अवघी ग्वल्हेरीस मुकाम करून असावे आझीं ही लवकरच ते प्रांतीं येतीं. इकडे आलियावरी तुम्हास बोलावायाचे ढरले तरी बोलाऊन घेऊक. गोहदकरा कडील एक गढी तोफा लाऊन तुम्ही खाली केली झणून येथे काशीदाने सांगितले. त्यास तुम्ही ग्वल्हेरीसच राहून तोफेचे गोळे जंबुरोयाचे गोळे, याचा कारखाना लावून सरंजाम पूर्ववत करणे. आयंदा आझांस गोहदकराचे पारपत्य जरूर कर्तव्य आहे. रखानगी कराल तरी भरवशाची सोबत सामान चांगले असेल आणि तुमची निशा पडली तर रवानगी करणे. नाही तरी तथेच असावे रवाना छ ११ रमजान बह्त काय लिहीणे हे अशीर्वाद मोर्तब सुद.

पो छ २३ रमजान सु खमस सितेन सन ११७४

श्री

पुरवणी चिरंजीव अहिल्याबाई यांशी आशिर्वाद उपरी गोहदकराकडील गडीचा जमाव अटोकाट पुरता मनास आणून मग तोफखाना पाठवीत जाणे. शाहास सर्वथा, गुंतत न जाणे. दबावाने जितके काम होईल तेभवर करीत जाणे. तोफखाना आपल्यापासून कोणाच्या भरवशावर सर्वथा लांब पाठवावयाची तजवीज न करीत जाणे. तोफखान्याची आव राहून आपला नक्ष साधेती असें करीत जाणे. छ ११ रमजान हे आशिर्वाद

मोर्तब सुद

पो छ २३ रमजान सु खमस सितेन सन ११७४

VI.—Despatched 21st March 1766.

श्री

सुभा राजश्री महारजो होलकर

रोजकोर्द

माहे सवाल ह ८ रोज मुकाम सु सित

ग्वालियर अथीक ज्ञाते पत्रे

सोतेन सन ११७४

चिरंजोव अहिल्याबाईस पत्र कीं मोहाद करा कडील एक दोन गठया मातबर ध्यावयाच्या होत्या तेथे तोफा लाऊन ठाणें खालो करून घेऊन रा. गोविंद शाम्बाज याचा अमल पेशजो प्रमाणे चालत आले. सांप्रत मोहोम जाटाचो आहे. लोकांस खावयास द्यावे लागते याज करित खेतसीकरमसो याज पासोन लष्करांत रुपये २००००० दोन लक्ष घेऊन हे पत्रं तुझ्यास हुंडो दाखल लिहिले असे तरी पत्र पावतांच सदरहू दोन लक्ष रुपये सावकार मजकुर याजला देऊन पावती घेणे. चिठो जे समयो पावाल तेच क्षणों एवजाचो भरतो करून देणें ये विशयीं हय गय एकंदर न करणें तुझ्याम आमचो अगत्य असलो तरी एवजाचो सरबराजा होऊन सावकार मजकुरास एवज पेक्षा निचेप पावता होय ते गोष्ट करणे. सौ हरकुबाईनो भलें लोकांचो पंगत बसलो होती ते समयो सांगितले ब वैद्य यानो चांदणोत सांगितले

ता:

बार

A Short Note on the Charities of Devi Shri Ahilya Bai Holkar

Based chiefly on the State Records.

(By V. V. Thakur, B.A.)

There is a very common saying among the folks of the Deccan by the side of Jejuri——“ Work ye on, the Holkers' Chisel ” (कालकरो टाकी चा देकी.)

The uninterrupted building-operations of the Holkars in their heyday got themselves thus impressed in the undying language of their country.

The charities of Devi Shri Ahilyabai had been, until lately, characterized as various, varied and spread all over the continent of India. The first attempt of the State-authorities towards a regular, systematic account of the same resulted in the publication of “ His Highness Maharaja Holkar

Government ————— Devasthan classification list," in the year 1923. A State officer has, recently, been appointed to carry on the investigation on the spot; the information so far ascertained and verified has been pictured in the list before us: which, by no means, can claim to be full and perfect. It is an attempt, aiming at both in the near future.

Has this list any meaning for us? Let us try.

We know that the Holkars are personally Shaivas (followers of Shri Shiva); as such, their charities may be expected naturally to run in that direction.

(a) The Shaiva school is represented by the 12 ज्योतिर्लिंग (Jyotir-Lingas) spread over the vast continent of Bharatkhand; they are:—

- (1) Somnath in Kathaiwad.
- (2) Mallikarjun in the Madras Presidency.
- (3) Mahankaleshwar in Ujjain.
- (4) Onkareshwar in Central India.
- (5) Vaijanath in the Nizam's territory.
- (6) Bhimashankar in Maharastra.
- (7) Rameshwar on the eastern coast, Madras Presidency.
- (8) Nagnath in the Nizam's territory.
- (9) Vishwanath in Benares.
- (10) Trimbak near Nasik.
- (11) Kedarashwar in the Himalayas.
- (12) Grishneshwar in Verul (Nizam's territory).

All of these have received some sort of recognition and homage at the hands of Devi Shri Ahilyabai. (Please *vide* Appendix AI.)

(b) Next to the Jyotir-lingas come in, the Sapta-Puries (seven cities) and the four Dhamas (quarters).

Sapta-puries are:—Auyodya, Mathura, Maya, Kashi, Kanchi, Avantika and Dwarawati (Dwarka). These cities may be said to represent the progressive phases of Aryan-Hinduism in India, *e.g.*, Auyodhya representing the culture of the Ramayan, while Mathura that of the Mahabharat, period.

The four Dhamas or Quarters bound the whole of India in the four cardinal directions, each contains a math founded by the great Shri Shankaracharya.

ad The Jyotir-lingas, Sapta-puries and four Dhamas derive their sacredness nt from one or the other of the eighteen Puranas; and the Puranas are now generally recognized as depicting Indian culture of the 2nd to the 10th century A. D.—the Hindu India, so to say. The list, moreover, takes us also to places like Pandharpur, Bida, Udaipur, etc., and others which cannot claim the sanctity of places marked above as (a) and (b); and still these places have equally shared the charities of Devi Shri Ahilyabai.

The Holkars with the Scindyas were the foremost of the Maratha conquerors of Northern India. Their period of conquest stretches from 1717 to 1817 A. D.—one complete century.—Their charities, therefore, rally round this period of conquest, and they faithfully followed the example of Shiwaji the Great in their conquest of Malwa, Bundelkhand, Antarveda, and Rajputana as is evident from the list before us. It will thus be seen that the Holkar charities embraced not only the old, hoary sacred spots but they ran also for the protection and promotion of the new पंथास as मानभाव, वारकरो, रामदासो, बैरागी, representing comparatively modern phases of Hinduism.

Having noticed these two phases of their charities, viz., (I) Personal and (II) Progressively national, let us turn to the last but not the least phase, of their charities.

The mosques standing in their territory continued to receive their old grants intact and unmolested, and Mahomedan Saints even in far-off provinces received their support. The Sanad of His Highness Malhar Rao I to Murad Fakir (*vide* Appendix B) and upheld by the Devi, and the donation of a thousand Rupees to Shaḥa Sufi Pirjade Haidrabadkar on the 18th of January 1785 by the Devi are typical of this phase of Hinduism which may be styled Rational Hinduism. To sum up, the list before us represents the (I) personal or dynastical, (II) progressively National and (III) rational aspects of Hinduism embodied in the charities of Devi Ahilya Bai.

APPENDIX A.

A List of the Charities of Devi Shree Ahilyabai Holkar.

I.—The twelve Jyotir-lingas.

1. Somnath—The deity was re-established by the Devi.
2. Malikarjun—Payment for worship, lamp, etc.
3. Mahakal—worship.
4. Onkareshwar—Garden, Portico, etc.
5. Vaijnath—Rebuilt.
6. Bhimashankar—worship.
7. Rameshwar—worship.
8. Nagnath—worship.
9. Vishweshwar (Benares) Rebuilt.
10. Trimbakeshwar—worship.

11. Kedareshwar—Rest-house, grazing grounds for cows.
12. Ghrishneshwar (Verul)—Compound to Tirtha.

II.—The Sapta-puries (7 cities).

1. Ayodhya—Temple.
2. Mathura—Ghat.
3. Haridwar—Ghat.
4. Kashi—Ghat.
5. Kanchi—Payment to learned Brahmins.
6. Avantika (Ujjain)—Temple.
7. Dwarawati—worship.

III.—*The four Quarters (Dhamas).*

1. Badri Narayan—Rest-house.
2. Dwarka—Temple—allowance.
3. Rameshwar—Ganges-water.
4. Jagannath—worship and food.

IV.—*Modern Holy places.*

1. Nashik—Temple.
2. Chitrakut—Temple.
3. Nathdwar—Rest-house.
4. Bid—Ghat—rebuilt.
5. Sapta Shringa Gad—Rest-house.
6. Parashram Kshetra—Money-allowance.
7. Shri Kalhati (Karnatak)—Money-allowance.
8. Shri Vyankatesh—Worship.

V.—*Miscellaneous.*

1. Naimisharanya—Tirtha.
2. Pushkar—Temple.
3. Rishiksha—Temple.
4. Sultanpur (Khandesh)—Temple.
5. Raver—Kund.
6. Puntambe—Ghat.
7. Jejuri—Temple.
8. Prayag—Ghat.
9. Gaya—Shri Vishnu Mandir.
10. Amar Kantak—Rest-house.
11. Sangamner—Shri Rama Mandir.
12. Pandharpur—Shri Rama Mandir.
13. Chondree—Temple.
14. Niphad—Kund.
15. Ambagaon—Light.
16. Tonke—Money-payment.
17. Paithan—Food.
18. Parli—Money-payment.
19. Shambhu Mahadeo (Satara)—well.

V.—*Miscellaneous—contd.*

20. Chinchwad—Money-payment.
21. Kolhapur—Money-payment.

VI.—*Ganges-water annually distributed to the following holy places:—*

1. Rameshwar.
2. Malikarjun.
3. Janardan Vasudeo (Mysore).
4. Padmanath Janardan.
5. Abhishayan Anant-Shayan.
6. Balaji Gire.
7. Gokarna Mahabaleshwar.
8. Subramaneshwar.
9. Pashupateshwar (Nepal).
10. Dwarkanath.
11. Dakorenath.
12. Utkanteshwar Mahadeo.
13. Avandya Jagannath.
14. Parli Vaijnath.
15. Trimbakeshwar.
16. Rama, Panchawati.
17. Matri Gaya Siddheshwar.
18. Bhimashankar.
19. Pandharpur.
20. Ekalingajee Mahadeo.
21. Kapila Muni.
22. Kedareshwar.
23. Sorati Somnath.
24. Nathdwar.
25. Vridheshwar Mahadeo.
26. Grishneshwar.
27. Loteshwar.
28. Jejuri.
29. Ujjain.
30. Maheshwar.
31. Onkareshwar.
32. Benares.
33. Badri Kedareshwar.
34. Zada Khandi.

The purport of the Sanad granted by His Highness Malharrao Holkar I in 1740 A. D. is as follows:—

Murad Fakir was, until now, worshipping Shri Maruti Khedapati (the village God) of this Kasba. After our conquest the local Mamlatdar and the Jamedar submitted an application to the effect that the Mahomedan should, no longer, continue the worship, inasmuch as his worship would not conduce to the welfare of the State.

The public were, thereon, consulted. The Fakir was granted a house and a land measuring three bighas; His acquiescence was secured. The Government, thereon, ordered that the worship of the deity should, thenceforth, be entrusted to Mahant Bairagi Rupdas Bawa, etc., etc.

APPENDIX B.

श्री.

शके १६६२, इसवी सन १७४८,

१६ नोव्हेंबर

राजश्री कामाविसदार वर्तमान भावो प्रो. इन्दोर,

गोसावो यांस.

अखंडित लक्ष्मी आलंकृत राजमान्य स्नेहांकितं मल्हारजी होलकर
दंडवत सु ॥ सन इहिदे अरबेन मया अलफ. शके १६६२ शोमारुतो खेडाण्तीकस-
व्यातोल याचो पुजया अविधराज्य ह्मणोन सुरादशा फकीर करोत होता. अलिकडे
हिंदुराज्य जाहल्यावरून परगणे मजकूरचे मामलेदार व जमोदार वगैरे यानों
जाहोर केले. आपले दैवताचो पुज्या अविंध करितो हे आपले राज्यास चांगले
नाहीं. त्याज वरून सर्वांचे अनुमते फकिरास राजो करून या निमित्त्यतोन विध-
वाडा देऊन पुज्या बंद करून सरकारातून पुज्या कृष्ण भक्त महंत बैरागी रूपदास-
बाबा सांप्रदाय निजानंदी निरवाण सत्पात्र पाहून याजकडे सांगून हे सनद तुह्यास
सादर केलो असे तरो बाबा यांचे शिष्यपरंपरा आजोचे पुजेचे काम याचे हाते घेत
जाऊन पुन्हा पत्राचा हरयेक विसो अन्नेप न घेता याचो नकल लिहून घेऊन
असल पत्र महंत बाबास भोगवटयास परतोन देणे जाणिजे छः ७ रमजान बहुत
काय लिहिणें.

श्री
मीतंब
सुद

श्री
ह्याकसा कातं
चरणो तत्पर
खंडोजी सुत मल्हार जी
होलकर.

**A Note on the Paper entitled "The Gond Dynasty in Chanda"
read by the Right Rev. Dr A. Wood, M.A., Ph.D., D.D.,
O.B.E., Lord Bishop of Nagpur, at the Eleventh
Session of the Indian Historical Records
Commission in 1928.**

[By C. U. Wills, C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retired)]

In a Paper, included in 1928 in the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Nagpur of which I recently received a copy, the Rt Rev. Dr Wood refers to a gold *putari*, struck in Samvat 1570 by Sangram Shah, the Raj-Gond Maharaja of Garha.

This coin, on the reverse, bears the Maharaja's name in Nagari and Telugu characters; and my old friend, Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who deciphered the Telugu, explained its use by suggesting that "the Maharaja got his name inscribed in the language of his original country, in spite of the fact that the tract he ruled was wholly Hindustani."

My own suggestion, in a footnote to a book I published in 1923, was that the craftsmen the Maharaja employed might have been Telingas.

This mild divergence of opinion has, in the Paper I refer to, been fanned into the semblance of a controversy, to which Dr Wood makes the following quaint contribution. He points out that the current British Indian one-anna piece has its *value* (not the King-Emperor's name) recorded in five different languages; and he asks "Is one justified in drawing any inference as to the quintuple nationality of the craftsmen? Would it not be wiser to infer that the coin was to be used by the people to whom these different scripts are familiar?"

This argument, such as it is, is exploded if we take, not the one-anna piece, but the British Indian rupee. The rupees now current have their value recorded either in English alone, or in English and Urdu. Would it be wise to infer that such rupees are intended for the use, in the one case, of Englishmen and, in the other case, of Englishmen and Moslems?

The tract the Raj-Gond Maharaja ruled was "wholly Hindustani". Therefore the coin with its Telugu script must, if we accept Dr Wood's view of its utility, have been designed for use outside the kingdom. Even a Raj-Gond Maharaja would have shrunk from the financial consequences of such a currency.

I need only emphasize the complete illiteracy of the people of Gondwana 400 years ago to suggest the practical inutility, that must have been apparent, of addressing the coinage to any one familiar with any script. And even had the people, either inside or outside the kingdom, been literate in Telugu,

what commercial purpose would have been served by their reading Sangram Shah's name? Dr Wood's "utility" theory collapses.

My own suggestion is purely tentative. But, at any rate, it is not *contra naturam*. In mediaeval India the issue of a gold coin bearing the ruler's name constituted a declaration of independence, since the minting of gold was an imperial prerogative; and it may well have been merely as a declaration of independence that Sangram Shah issued his gold *putari*, which he naturally had inscribed in the Nagari character because he aspired to recognition as a Hindu.

Telugu was used in one unimportant compartment of the coin, though the tract was "wholly Hindustani". The Telingas were famous as artificers at that time; and it is this fact, not commonly known, that lends significance to my suggestion.

One more correction. Dr Wood writes, "Mr Wills obviously takes it for granted that the Gonds were the aboriginal inhabitants of the Satpura Hills". This is a wholly incorrect assumption. I expressly avoided treading on such treacherous ground. I wrote in the opening pages of my book, "I propose to give an account not of the Gonds, but only of certain Raj-Gond dynasties. The distinction is important. I am not qualified to attempt a history or description of the tribe which was, I believe, settled permanently in Central India for many centuries before we hear of any Raj-Gond over-lords. It is with the political history of the latter that I am almost exclusively concerned".

It is clear, from this and other parts of his paper, that Dr Wood, though he has borrowed, sometimes freely, from my book, has not read it with attention. May I modestly commend it to his further notice?

An Old Imperial Sanad about Raisina or New Delhi.

(By Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu.)

This Sanad ¹ had been issued in favour of Maharaja Bijaya Singh of Marwar by the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II of Delhi on the 9th Jamadi-ul-Akhir of the 17th year of his reign.

King Shah Alam II whose original name was Ali Gauhar, was son of Emperor Alamgir II. He had adopted his regnal year from the 24th December 1759 A. D. (the 4th Jamadi-ul-Avval 1173 A. H. or Paush Sudi 5, 1816 V. S.), his 17th regnal year commenced from the 3rd July 1775 A. D. (the 4th Jamadi-ul-Avval 1189 A. H. or Ashadh Sudi 5, 1832 V. S.). Accordingly the corresponding date of the sanad which was written on the

¹ Its length is about 3 feet and breadth about 22 inches. It is mounted on a cloth to keep it preserved from decay, leaving the endorsements and the seals on its back open to view.

9th Jamadi-us-Sani of the 17th regnal year falls on the 7th August 1775 A. D. (Shravana Sudi 11, 1832 V. S.).

Besides one Imperial Tughra in Arabic characters and the Imperial seal, the sanad contains the following seals and endorsements:—

The Vazir's seal.—The writing in the seal reads:—“ Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi, yar wafadar, Sipahsalar, Rustam-i-Hind, Fidvi-i-Qadim, Yahyakhan Asafuddaulah Shujauddaulah, Abul Mansur Khan Safdarjang Itimaduddaulah Asafjah Burhanul mamalik, Jamdeh Madarul Maham ”. It also contains the Hijri year 1190 and the regnal year 17th. This shows that this seal is of the time of Asafuddaulah, the eldest son of Shujauddaulah who died on the 26th January 1775 A. D. (the 24th Ziqad 1188 A. H. or Magh badi 10, 1831 V. S.). This seal is placed on the back of the sanad towards the left lower corner.

The other seal.—Its contents are:—“ (Shah Alam)² Badshah Ghazi, Fidvi Khanazad Khan Bahadur ”. The regnal year given in it is 16th. This seal stands near the Vazir's seal to the right. Just below this seal there is an endorsement as follows:—

سنه ۱۷ جلوس والا بتاريخ دوم ۲ شهر رجب المرجب نقل شد

i.e., the copy of the sanad was taken on the 2nd Rajab of the 17th regnal year (the 29th August 1775 A. D. or Bhadaun Sudi 3, 1832 V. S.).

The second endorsement on the back on the right corner runs as follows:—

بتاريخ دوم شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۱۷ جلوس والا مطابق سنه ۱۱۸۹ م داخل
سياحه نموده شد

مطابق ۷ شهر يور ماه نقل بدفتر صاحب نوشته شد * * *

Just near the above there is a third endorsement as below:—

سنه ۱۷ جلوس والا بتاريخ دوم رجب المرجب نقل در مستوفي ائمه عظام رسيد

The purport of the second endorsement is “ Entered in the *siyaha* (register) on the 2nd of the month of Rajab of the regnal year 17th (corresponding to Hijri 1189 the 29th August 1775 A. D. or Bhadaun Sudi 3, 1832 V. S.). Copy taken in the office of the Sahib on the 7th of *Shahrivar*.⁴ May be handed over.”

Purport of the third endorsement:—

Copy taken in the office of the *A'imma Uzzam* (high priest) on the 2nd Rajab of the 17th regnal year.

² This portion is torn.

³ Here there is some one's signature which is undecipherable.

⁴ This is the 6th of the Persian months commencing from the ‘ Sankranti ’, i.e., Sun's Zodiacal change.

The fourth endorsement called Zimn⁵ on the back of the sanad runs as follows:—

۱ — مقدمه شرح ضمن بمرحب سیاهه دفتر باشد - حکم صادر شد - مروض
 رای سینه در بست عهله پرگنه حویلی دارالخلافه شاهجهان آباد بابت محال قدیم
 * * * * * مهاراجه بخت سنگه که در التمغا محمد مراد خان شده بود ثانیاً در سنه ۲۰
 ۲ — پرزانه بکالی بنام مهاراجه بیج سنگه عطا گشته بود و من بعد آرد
 (بجاگیردار * * * * * بعرالها رای امان عرف رشید امان در جاگیر خو * * * * *)^۷ در
 خالصه جدید قرار یافته * * * * * ربیع قوکیل پیشین

۳ — محال قدیم التمغا وزمینداری از محال خالصه شریفه در صیغه انعام
 التمغا * * * * * بیج سنگه بهادر با فرزندان نسلاً بعد نسلاً * * * * * راقع ۲۶ جمادی الاخره * * *

Its purport:—

The details of the case may be entered according to the Register of the office. Orders issued. Village Raisina situated in the Havali (Suburban) district of the capital Shahjahanabad, in view of old Jagir of Maharaja Bakht Singh, which had passed on to Muhammad Murad Khan as a Jagir for generations, was for the second time restored to Maharaja Bijaya Singh in regnal year 2, i.e., 1760 A. D. or 1817 V. S. but after this it (having remained in the Jagir of Rai Aman *alias* Rashid Aman) had recently lapsed to Khalisa. (The same Raisina) due to its being his ancestral Jagir (is granted) from Khalisa to Maharaja Bijaya Singh Bahadur and his descendants, generation after generation, by way of reward from the Rabi Crop of the Quil year. Dated the 26th Jamadiul Akhir (the 24th August 1775 A. D. or Bhadaun Badi 13, 1832 V. S.).

⁵ In this endorsement the following words being copied on a separate slip from the original the slip is pasted instead at the time of repairing the sanad:—

۱ — دارالخلافه شاهجهان آباد بابت محال
 ۲ — اراکها رای امان عرف رشید امان در جاگیر
 ۳ — سنگه بهادر با فرزندان نسلاً بعد نسلاً

The cross letters visible in the photo between the 2nd and the 3rd line do not belong to the text of the endorsement but are superfluous contents of the slips pasted to preserve the paper.

⁶ The following matter being covered under the cloth mount did not appear in the photo:—

۲ of the first line and
 ۱ of the second line

⁷ The writing within this bracket being distorted conveys no sense.

The text of the sanad reads as below:—

- ۱ — درین وقت میمنت اقران فرمان والا شان
- ۲ — راجب الاذعان صادر شد که مبلغ هشتاد هزار دام
- ۳ — موضع رای سینه در بستان عماله پرگنه حویلی دارالخلافه شاهجهان آباد که مبلغ هفت صد روپیه حاصل آنست بابت محال قدیم که در خالصه شریفه قرار یافته بود در وجه انعام
- ۴ — التامغا * * * * * زبده راجه های هندوستان راج راجیشور مهاراجه ده اچ بیج سگمه بهادر با فرزندان معافی تصدیق و یاد داشت *
- ۵ — بر جمع آن بیفزاید از ثلث ربیع قولیل حسب الضمن مقرر باشد باید که فرزندان نامدار کامگار والا تبار و رزایی ذری الاقدار و امرا عالی مقدار و حکام کرام و عمال
- ۶ — کفایت فرجام و متصدیان مهمات دیوانی و متکفلان معاملات سلطانی و جاگیرداران و کوریان حال و استقبال ابداء و مریداً در استقرار و استمرار ایدهم *
- ۷ — معلی کوشیده دامهای مرقومه را نسلاً بعد نسلاً و بطناً بعد بطناً خالداً و مغلداً بتصرف آنها را گذارند - و از صوامع تغیر و تبدیل مصئون و محروس دانسته بعلت پیشکش مرید داری
- ۸ — و فرج داری و مال و جهات و سایر اخراجات مثل * * * بیگار و ده نیمی مقدمی صدوری و قانونگری مزاحم و متعرض نشوند و از کل تکلیفات دیوانی
- ۹ — و مطالبات خاقانی معاف و مرفوع القلم شمارند درین باب تأیید اکید و قدغن مزید دانسته هر سال سند مجدد نطلبند و از یزلیغ کرامت تبلیغ والا تخلف و انحراف نورزند - بتاریخ نهم شهر جمادی الثانی سنل هفتم از جلوس والا زیب تحریر یافت

Translation.—In this auspicious time the sublime command worthy of being obeyed is issued that village Raisina of 80,000 *dams* in the Havali (suburban) Pargana of the capital Shahjahanabad (Delhi), the rental value of which is Rs. 700 may be settled as *Inam* (gift) for generations in lieu of his old Jagir, that had lapsed to Khalisa, upon Raj Rajeshvar Maharajadhiraj Bijaya Singh Bahadur, the predominant of the Rajas of India, and his descendants, (having been verified as rent-free and duly registered, that its revenue may increase) from the third part of the Rabi Crop (*i.e.*, from the time of the crop being ready) of the Quil (Turkish Eighth year) as mentioned in the Zimn (Register). Our distinguished, fortunate, and dignified descendants, ministers of high rank, noble grandees, eminent officers, economical

revenue collectors, administrators of civil matters, Trustees of Royal affairs, *Jagirdars* and *karoris*, of the present and future, having ever and anon tried to maintain and perpetuate this esteemed order, ought always to leave the above-mentioned *dams* in their (grantees') possession generation after generation and individual after individual. And treating this (grant) as safe and protected from consequences of changes and fluctuations may not exercise pressure or raise objection about payment of Subadari, Faujdari, Mal, Jahat, and all other cesses like Begar, dehnimi ($\frac{1}{2}/10$) Muqaddami, Sadzui ($2/100$), Qanungoi and should treat (the grant) as free from all civil obligations and Royal demands. Treat this as strictly and very urgent, do not demand new sanad every year, and never disobey or act contrary to this grand order. Written on the 9th Jamadi-us-Sani, 17th year of the reign (*i.e.*, on the 7th August 1775 A. D. or Shravan Sudi 11, 1832 V. S.).

From this sanad it is apparent that the village Raisina on the site of which the present New Delhi stands had been during the Mughal period the ancestral Jagir of the rulers of Marwar and had regularly remained under their sway up to the reign⁸ of Maharaja Bakht Singh A. D. 1751-52 (V. S. 1808-09). But at this time as dissensions broke out in the Royal house of Jodhpur, the Emperor having confiscated it from Maharaja Bijaya Singh conferred it on Muhammad Murad Khan at the instigation of hostile parties. Later when the family feud had ended it was restored again to Maharaja Bijaya Singh in 1760 A. D. (1817 V. S.). But some time after when the administration of Marwar had relaxed due to Marhatta inroads the Emperor Shah Alam II again yielding to hostile influence confiscated the village from the Maharaja. Lastly on the suppression of all the main risings in Marwar it is probable that the Maharaja might have put forward his claim to this village (his ancestral Jagir) in the Emperor's court (as is evident from the central endorsement on the back of the sanad) and the Emperor having seen proof of this village being the ancestral Jagir of the Maharajas of Marwar and finding no other rightful claimant to it might have issued this sanad in 1775 A. D. (1832 V. S.) in his favour. We can not say when and under what circumstances this Jagir went out of the possession of the rulers of Marwar but two conclusions are derived clearly from it:—

Firstly, that this Raisina was an ancestral Jagir of the Maharajas of Marwar and that 155 years ago it was in their possession.

Secondly, that the titles “Zubdah-Rajha-i-Hindustan Raj Rajeshvai Maharaja Dhiraj” were used with the names of the Maharajas of Marwar up to the end of the Mughal rule.

⁸ Maharaja Bakht Singh had ascended the throne of Marwar on the 29th June 1751 A. D. (Shravan Badi 2, 1808 V. S.) having deposed his nephew Maharaja Ram Singh. He died on the 21st September 1752 A. D. Bhadaun Sudi 13, 1809 V. S., and was succeeded by his son Maharaja Bijaya Singh.

⁹ Maharaja Ishvari Singh of Jaipur being father-in-law of Maharaja Ram Singh had sided with him. His influence also must have worked with the Emperor against Maharaja Bijaya Singh.

Some Openings for Army Historical Research in India.¹

(By Capt. H. Bullock.)

I.—*History of the Bombay Army.*

There is no history of the Bombay Army as a whole. The story of the other two Presidential armies, of Bengal and Madras, has been fairly adequately dealt with by *Cardew* and *Wilson* respectively, and in earlier works, from which a useful background may be obtained for the compilation of regimental histories, etc.

There are several monographs on one or another aspect of the history of the Bombay Army, such as for instance the essay on Keigwin's Rebellion in the *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies*, or the fine history of the Bombay European Regiment, Major A. Mainwaring's *Crown and Company*. But there is great need, it is submitted, for a general conspectus of the deeds of the Old Bombay Army. It is believed that adequate materials for its compilation exist.

II.—*Constitutional History of the Indian Forces.*

There is need of a book on the lines of Clode's *Military Forces of the Crown*. Some of the ground has been covered in Carnduff's *Military and Cantonment Law in India*, which has long been out of print and hard to obtain. There is also a little information in two official publications, *The Army in India and its Evolution* and the *Manual of Indian Military Law* (first chapter). None of these is however in any way a comprehensive narrative of the constitutional history of the forces of Company and Crown.

III.—*A History of the Uniform of the Indian Army.*

Apart from its inherent interest and its picturesque value, a history of uniform is a valuable handmaid to historical research by reason of the practical assistance which it affords in the identification of portraits and the like. The cost of such a book may however be prohibitive owing to the necessity for copious illustration, if possible in colour.

No book on the uniform of the Indian forces exists. From personal research in the print-room of the British Museum and elsewhere I am convinced that ample material exists for the compilation of such a book.

IV.—*A Calendar of Indian Regiments.*

The names of almost all past and present regiments of the Indian forces have been subjected to numerous changes, as may be seen at a glance from

¹ This paper was considered along with a note by the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, in paragraph XII of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting, see pp. 181-2 below.

the current *Indian Army List*. These changes are due to the various re-organisations of the forces, *e.g.*, in 1824 and in the 1880's. The result is to make it exceedingly hard to trace the fate of disbanded regiments; and the past title, at any given date, of existing regiments. It has been suggested to me, and I wholly agree, that a calendar setting forth the various changes in the titles of all past and present regiments, and the dates on which such changes took place, would be of great practical help to those who are working on the history of the Indian forces.

To compile such a calendar there would be needed ten per cent inspiration and ninety per cent perspiration. A complete set of old Army Lists and General Orders would provide most of the material.

NOTE.—The above instances, which could be multiplied without any difficulty, are merely by way of example of what in my submission badly needs to be done in respect of research into basic subjects.

When research into such basic subjects has been forwarded, the writing of histories of special campaigns of individual regiments, and of biographies will be tremendously facilitated.

Many other subjects are sadly neglected at present, *e.g.* :—

- (a) The history of disbanded regiments which did fine service in their day but which are now almost wholly forgotten.
- (b) The history of abandoned cantonments.
- (c) The administrative history of the Indian forces and of various offices such as, *e.g.*, Town-Major and Judge Advocate General.
- (d) Whole campaigns, such as the Nepal War of 1814—16, of which no adequate histories on modern lines exist.

These notes make no claim to be comprehensive, but are merely intended as an indication, however slight, of openings for future research into matters which are by no means trivial.

Side Lights on the Settlements and History of the Christians in Agra in the Seventeenth Century as revealed from a Study of their Tombs.

(By J. C. Taluqdar, M.A.)

The second half of the 16th century is an important landmark in the history of India. Akbar established the Moghul Raj on a secure basis and his court was not only a great seat of Indian culture but it also served as a magnet for all sorts of persons interested in the East. It was at the time of Akbar, the true founder of the Moghul Empire, that England was first attracted to India and eventually took over its sceptre from the last of the Moghuls. For diverse reasons the Moghul Court was the rendezvous of all Europeans who came to the East. Agra was the Darulkhilafat of the Moghul Empire from its inception till the beginnings of the reign of Aurangzeb and the imperial city thus easily became the centre of European activities in Northern India in the 16th and 17th centuries. The history of the Europeans at Agra is as romantic as that of any other city in the world. From a

perusal of the inscriptions¹ on Christian graves we find that from 1,600 to 1,800 persons of all European nationalities, the English, the Dutch, the French, the Portuguese, the Italian, the German, the Flemish and even the Swiss, were, from time to time, buried at Agra. The Jesuits, of course, account for a considerable number of inscriptions. Indian converts to Christianity who assumed European names and the offspring of mixed marriages account for others. And with the help of English and Dutch Records we can also explain a number of other cases. Still there remain many cases unexplained. It is important to remember that the East was overrun by Europeans of all sorts in this period. At Agra there were four main Christian settlements; the settlement of the Portuguese, mainly a religious settlement, and the three trade settlements of the Armenians, the English and the Dutch. Owing to these settlements servants, artizans, tradesmen, sailors, soldiers, physicians, priests, explorers and diplomatists all gravitated to Agra. We gather, for example, that Dara had 200 European artillerymen in 1658. This note is an attempt to throw some light, with the help of the inscriptions, on the Christian life and activities in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the 16th century Akbar received, from time to time, a number of Jesuit missionaries at Fatehpur Sikri (Agra).² There was already a number of Armenians at Agra.³ During this time, again, some English adventurers⁴ like Ralf Fitch, Newbery came to Agra to explore the avenues of trade and commerce and it was on the strength of their reports that the East India Company was formed on the last day of December in 1600. The number of Europeans, however, who visited Agra in the second half of the 16th century was at no time large. From the writings of the Jesuit missionaries⁵ we learn that an Italian, a hungry Hungarian and a family of Russian slaves lived at Fatehpur Sikri and Agra in the 16th century, but the Jesuits mention no other European name in this connection; and we do not hear of any other Europeans—not even the Dutch—coming to Agra in the 16th century. Again, no grave of any European who died in the 16th century has yet been found at Agra or at Fatehpur Sikri. The Jesuits⁶ tell us of the death of a Portuguese at Fatehpur Sikri, but his tomb has not been found; he might have been buried in a Muslim cemetery. It must be clearly understood in this connection that the graves of Europeans in the Moghul period bear a close resemblance to Muslim graves—evidently because they were constructed by Muslim craftsmen—and it is impossible to differentiate the one from the other if there is no inscription on the grave. Moreover, we gather from the same source⁶ that Akbar gave the missionaries permission

¹ Fuhrer: List of Tombs, etc., in the N. W. P. Blunt: Christian Tombs and Monuments in the U. P.

² MacLagan: J. A. S. B., I. 1896; Hosten: List of Jesuit Missionaries in 'Mogor'. (J. A. S. B., 1910.)

³ Seth: History of the Armenians in India.

⁴ Purchas: Purchas his Pilgrimage.

⁵ MacLagan: J. A. S. B. 1896.

⁶ MacLagan.

only to erect a small chapel, but no land was bestowed and there was no settlement. The fact is that the few Europeans who came to Agra in the 16th century were birds of passage and they must have left the Court within a few years of their arrival.

In the 17th century the scene changes. We find that some of the leading Christian nations have their settlements at Agra and there is also a large number of Christian graves. There are three main Christian graveyards containing old tombs, two for Roman Catholics and one for Protestants. The inscriptions⁷ on these graves refer to many events of great importance and throw a flood of light on the activities of the Europeans in Northern India.

Padre Santos' Chapel.—In the Padre Santos' chapel near the civil courts at Agra there are altogether 21 graves with the 17th century inscriptions. We have here the tomb of Khoja Mortenepus, an Armenian, who died in 1611. The inscription is written in Armenian and Persian. It is perhaps the oldest Christian tomb in Northern India. The fact that the inscription is written in Armenian shows that the Armenian population of Agra at the beginning of the 17th century was not scanty. As every other grave in the chapel represents the remains of a cleric it is probable that the Khoja also belongs to the same class. In the inscription he is described as "a servant of Christ" or "a professed disciple of Jesus Christ". This is confirmed by the fact that the grave of a lay Armenian (Ohanjan buried in 1645) is found not in the chapel but in the cemetery proper. This chapel seemed to have been exclusively reserved for Padres. Father Xavier⁸ describes in one of his letters, written in 1604, the funeral of an "honourable Armenian" at Agra. No trace, however, is found of his tomb. The next oldest tomb is that of Father Zakhar. In the inscription it is written in Armenian "I am from Tabriz, 1615". Evidently he was a priest. There are three other tombs of Armenian Padres with Armenian inscriptions, bearing the dates 1682, 1683 and 1689. It is rather curious that no Armenian tomb has been found between 1615 and 1682 except the tomb of Ohanjan buried in 1645. It may be that the leading Armenians had been ousted from the Agra market by the rivalries of the English and the Dutch. Both the English and the Dutch had nothing but undisguised hatred for them. Terry⁹ writes most disparagingly of the Armenians. Francisco Pelsaert, the Second Dutch Factor at Agra, writes in the same strain about the Armenians in his *Remonstrantie*¹⁰. This may also have been due to the hostile attitude of Shahjahan towards Christians in general. The Portuguese and the Armenians were the persons who were affected most in this connection. Bernier¹¹, of course, writes that he found a large number of Armenians at Agra in the middle of the 17th century. By this time Shahjahan had modified his attitude

⁷ Fuhrer: Blunt.

⁸ Maclagan.

⁹ Terry: *A voyage to East India*.

¹⁰ *Jahangir's India*, ed. by Moreland.

¹¹ *Travels in the Moghul Empire*.

towards the Christians and the English and the Dutch had already been thinking of breaking up their establishment at Agra. These circumstances might have influenced the Armenians to return to Agra at the time when Bernier was visiting the city.

Most of the remaining 17 graves in the chapel were Portuguese. This is not surprising when we remember that the Portuguese dominated the situation in the 17th century in many respects. They first came to Northern India in the second half of the 16th century and towards the close of Akbar's reign permission was given to them to build a church at Agra ¹². But the new church was apparently completed in Jehangir's reign. Close to the church, they had also a cemetery. Between 1615 and 1633 no Father seemed to have been buried. During the short period of four years (1633—1636), however, we have the graves of as many as seven Christian Fathers. These graves threw a lurid light on one important event in Shajahan's reign. Hughli had been captured by the Moghul Government in 1632 and the Portuguese captured at Hughli were brought to Agra ¹³. They were then subjected to all manner of persecutions and many of them died in prison. Two inscriptions refer specifically to this. It is recorded that Father Garcia and Father Manuel Danhaya died in prison for the Faith, the former in 1634, the latter in 1635. Of the remaining five graves there is the tomb of De Peyra. Is he the same Peyra who came from Bengal to meet Akbar and advised the King to send for more learned priests from Goa? ^{13a} If he is the same Peyra he must have been a very old man in 1633, as he met Akbar before 1579. Another tomb in this group is that of Padre Macado. He died in 1635 ¹⁴ and not in 1636 as stated by Mr Blunt. His name and the date can still be deciphered. Fr. Goes ¹⁵ brought him to Agra where he died. Then there is the tomb of Padre Corsi in this group. Terry ¹⁶ mentions his name and says that Fr. Corsi "lived at the Moghal Court as an agent for the Portuguese". The point is of value as proving that the missionaries were used for political purposes to some extent. Terry gives Corsi a good character. But in this connection a perplexing question arises. Abdul Hamid ¹⁷, the historian of Shajahan, says that 400 prisoners were brought to Agra and that "many of them passed from prison to hell". We can account for, at best, seven. What about the others? They must have been buried somewhere. The fact is that there must have existed another cemetery for Christians. We should remember that in the 17th century a large number of Portuguese and Armenians used to live at Agra and in the existing graveyards we find only the names of clergymen with a few lay names probably of persons who were of great importance in their days. The con-

¹² Maclagan and Hosten.

¹³ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.

^{13a} Commentary of Monserrate, ed. by Hoyland.

¹⁴ Fanthome: Reminiscences of Agra.

¹⁵ Maclagan.

¹⁶ A Voyage to East India.

¹⁷ Elliot & Dowson: Vol. VII.

clusion is irresistible that as a rule no common man was buried there; if buried, no inscription was written on the grave; some tombs without inscriptions in both the Roman Catholic cemeteries lend colour to this fact. However, the unfortunate lay Portuguese who perished as stated above, were most probably buried elsewhere. There are traces of a very old Christian cemetery in a village about a mile from the Catholic Cathedral towards the Northeast. We venture to suggest that this was the spot where Christians of ordinary rank were buried.

The Portuguese came to Agra along with the Jesuit missions. These missions are perhaps unique in one respect, for they came to India with the express purpose of converting a single individual, namely, Akbar; but so far as this attempt was concerned they were unsuccessful. But these Portuguese and the Jesuits had also a political object in view. Their energy in the promotion of Portuguese interests during the reign of Jahangir is sufficiently manifest from the very free comments of Terry and Hawkins. Ultimately they failed in all objects; they failed to convert Akbar, they failed to spread Christianity in Northern India, they failed to promote commercial interests of Portugal and they failed to circumvent the English. Yet the episode is not without its lessons and an interest of its own. The English and the Dutch broke up their settlements at Agra in the course of the 17th century, but the Jesuits remained at Agra till the order was abolished by the King of Portugal in the middle of the 18th century.

Cemetery proper.—Now we come to the cemetery proper. There are altogether 21 graves of the 17th century. It is a cosmopolitan group and proves our assertion that Agra attracted all sorts of people from Europe at that time. First we have the tomb of J. Mildenhall buried in 1614. His name is written as Joa de Mendenal as he was buried by the Portuguese. He is perhaps the first Englishman buried in Indian soil. He may be taken as a typical representative of the various adventurous spirits overrunning the East in this period. Mildenhall was the self-styled representative of Elizabeth to Akbar. After staying a few years he disappeared and returned to India in 1610 and on his way to Agra he died at Ajmer, leaving all he possessed to a Frenchman, whose daughter he intended to marry. Mildenhall was at first a Protestant; the Jesuit missionaries¹⁸ branded him as a 'heretic'. But the fact that he was buried in a Roman Catholic cemetery shows that at a later time he turned a Roman Catholic¹⁹. There is another tomb very old, that of De Geneva, 1614—most probably the tomb of a merchant of Geneva. The next oldest tomb is that of Joa Aleman (1619), who has not yet been identified. Most probably he or she was a German. The next name is Francisca Borges (1624 or 1654). Mr Blunt²⁰ thinks that she was the wife of one Nicolo Borges. The tomb next to this is that of Mafei, B, 1628. The

¹⁸ Maclagan.

¹⁹ Orme: History of the Establishment of the English Trade at Surat.

²⁰ Blunt: Christian Tombs and Monuments in the U. P.

name suggests that Mafei was an Italian. The tomb of Veroneo (1640), the reputed designer of the Taj comes next. He was a Venetian and by profession a jeweller. The theory that he is the designer of the Taj rests on the assertion that he told the story to Padre Da Castro (buried in the chapel, 1646) at Lahore, who in his turn told this to Manrique and the latter published it to the world. Veroneo died at Lahore but was buried at Agra. The next tomb is that of Fabano, 1640. Probably he was an Italian. The tomb of an Armenian comes next, 1672. The next tomb is that of Cordeiro, 1672. The name suggests that he was a Portuguese. The tomb of H. Bronzoni comes next, 1677. He was a Venetian and his name is mentioned by Manucci and Tavernier. He was a diamond cutter and an engineer. The last tomb is that of M. Tavares, 1679. We hear of Peitro Tavares, a Portuguese Officer in the service of Akbar in 1577²¹. Is this M. Tavares in any way related to Pietro Tavares?

Thus, of the 11 persons whose names we find, one was an English, one a Swiss, one a German, four Italians, and the rest were most probably Portuguese: a truly cosmopolitan group. But the influence of the Portuguese is illustrated by the fact that all inscriptions on European graves in both the Roman Catholic cemeteries are written in Portuguese, on Armenian graves in Armenian; in one case only both Armenian and Persian are used.

Old Protestant cemetery.—There are altogether ten graves in this cemetery. They were found under-ground in 1854, when the foundations of St. Paul's Church, close by, were being dug and placed in the cemetery on a platform. This cemetery is the memorial of the old English and Dutch trade factories at Agra. These English graves are the only proof in Northern India of the antiquity of the British connection with India. Those Englishmen were the pioneers of an Empire.

In the beginning of the 17th century a triangular fight ensued among the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese for Eastern trade in general and Indian trade in particular. The struggle was long and bitter and fought to a finish. Each party was anxious to get trade concessions from the Great Moghul and each party therefore had to maintain an establishment at Agra from the very beginning of its career.

The English East India Company was founded in 1600. In 1608 Hawkins was sent to Agra with letters to the Great Moghul. He returned unsuccessful in 1612. In 1613 Paul Canning came to Agra on behalf of the Company and died there; his place was taken by the famous Kerridge. By 1615 the Factory had been well established; we find in that year as many as seven subordinates working at the Agra establishment²². As a trade concern, however, the Agra Factory was never prosperous, but it had to be maintained there as Agra was the headquarters of the Moghul Empire. The factory broke up when the capital was shifted to Delhi at the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb. The date of the last English tomb is 1651 and we can infer

²¹ Vincent Smith: Akbar.

²² Foster: The English Factories in India.

that the English left Agra soon afterwards—a fact corroborated by other evidences²³.

The Dutch also appeared on the scene almost at the same time, though a little late. The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1601 and the Dutch settled at Agra in 1621. Their first head was Wouter who died in 1623. The second Dutch Factor was Francis Pelsart who has been quoted elsewhere. The Factory was maintained till the close of the 17th century. When exactly the Factory was closed is not known. The date of the last tomb in the cemetery is 1679 and therefore we may presume that it must have been closed after 1679. The removal of the court to Delhi determined the Dutch, as it determined the English, to break up their establishment at Agra.

The first tomb is that of Justinian Ofley “who was chief merchant in Agra for the English. He deceased in 1627”. The style of the tomb is Muslim. We learn from Kerridge that there being no Englishman on the spot, Ofley was buried by the Dutch²⁴ in their cemetery. The second tomb also is that of an Englishman—J. Drake, 1637. He was mortally wounded in a riot near Dholpur at the time of the Holi Festival; when the news reached Agra, Da Castro, the Jesuit Rector, at once sent a Surgeon, but his help was in vain. Drake died at Dholpur and the Dutch buried him in their cemetery as there was no English factor at Agra²⁵.

The third tomb is that of De Boeck, a Dutchman, who died in 1647. We do not know anything of him.

The next is that of E. Tack, a Dutch woman (1649), wife of John Tack, who died in 1663 and was buried in the same cemetery by her side. Manucci mentions the name of Tack.

The last is that of P. Deliem, a Dutchman, who died in 1679. Nothing is known of him.

With regard to the three graves without inscriptions it may be presumed that they were either English or Dutch graves or both. The tomb of Canning, the first English Factor who died in 1613 may be one. It is true that the cemetery belonged to the Dutch and as they did not come to Agra before 1621 the cemetery did not exist in 1613. As all the other Englishmen were buried there Canning's grave might have been removed to the Dutch cemetery when it was opened; the inscription might have been effaced. The second tomb without inscription might belong to Wouter, the first Dutch Factor, who died at Agra in 1623. There is no reason why he should not have been buried there. The third tomb might belong to Fettiplace, an English

²³ Bernier.

²⁴ Foster.

²⁵ Foster: Bengal: Past and Present, 1910.

subordinate, who died in 1621. It is interesting to note that both the first English Factor and the first Dutch Factor died at Agra.

There was no love lost between the English and the Dutch on account of trade rivalries. And after the massacre of Amboyna (1623), we learn that they were not even on speaking terms. But it is pleasing to note that the Dutch never carried resentment beyond the grave; and on at least two occasions offered their deceased rivals the last hospitality of burial. Both Ofley and Drake were buried by them. We further notice that even the Jesuits used to help the Protestants when necessity arose. Padre Da Castro sent a Surgeon to render help to Drake. We observe, too, that the Europeans used to live in one part of the town—in the North. The old Protestant cemetery and the Roman Catholic Cemetery are within three furlongs of each other. A study of the Christian graves of Agra of 17th and 18th centuries, again, gives us an excellent idea of the importance of Northern India in the eyes of Europe. First, religion and trade lured the West into the magic land of India; then the adventurous spirits in the guise of servants, sailors, traders, physicians and what not—joined their compatriots already there; and lastly in the 18th century European military adventurers and the flotsam and jetsam of the various European countries that collected as subordinate officers overran India. The Christian graves of Agra, again, are an index of the activities of the various European peoples here, and lastly those tombs silently demonstrate that the Moghul Emperors were on the whole very tolerant to Christians.

Our conclusions are:—

- (1) Europeans in India were few in the 16th Century and there was no Christian settlement.
- (2) Only Padres and Patricians were buried in the Roman Catholic cemeteries. There must have existed another cemetery for Christians of ordinary rank. The ruins of a Christian graveyard on the Northwest of the old Roman Catholic cemetery might be the spot where that cemetery stood.
- (3) Armenian trade must have been hard hit in the second quarter of the 17th century, partly on account of the rivalries of the English and the Dutch and partly on account of the hostile attitude of Shajahan.
- (4) The activities of the European traders in Agra ended with the removal of the capital to Delhi.
- (5) Europeans lived in one part of the town.
- (6) The graves show that Agra attracted persons of all nationalities from Europe.

Do-Amli or The Dual Control over Berar.

(By Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B.)

1. About the year 1770 A. D. a treaty was made by the Nizam with the Bhoslas by which the latter used to get 60 per cent. of the Revenue of Berar and the former was to be satisfied with the remaining 40 per cent. This system was styled as Do-amli or dual government. It lasted till 1803 A. D. In that year the Bhoslas ceded Berar to the British who handed it over to their ally the Nizam.

The system of the collection of revenue in Berar was described in my paper read before the last session of the Commission at Gwalior. The annual statements of revenue of those times are found even now in the possession of the Families of Deshpandias and Muharirs in the most neglected condition. Search among the records of these families brings to light many papers which are important in historical point of view. In this paper I have made use of annual statements of Darwha pergana. These statements were recovered from the neglected records of the family of Muharir of the pergana.

2. *Result of study of the annual statements.*—I select statements of 1198, 1200 and 1205 Fasli which correspond to 1790, 1791, 1792 and 1797 A. D. Study of these statements clearly gives an idea of the state of affairs during that period.

(1) Berar was regarded to be under the rule of the Nizam, who was styled as Sarkar, while the Bhoslas were styled as Sena Sahib Subha. The statements were in Persian, the language of the Court, and also in Marathi, the language of the people.

(2) Subha of Berar was divided into two Tarafs, *viz.*, Balabhat and Payanghat and into Sarkars and Perganas as it was done in the previous Mahomedan Rule.

(3) The Revenue was being collected in copper coins and also in silver coins of various mints such as Shahi (Imperial), Halkundi, etc. It was therefore necessary to represent them in some standard. Takā was taken to be such standard. There was no coin by name Takā. It ordinarily means $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a rupee, *i.e.*, 4 Takās are equal to a rupee. Generally rupees of all the mints and of all the different dynasties have not the same value. As for example statement in 1792 A. D. Shahi rupee was equal in value to $2\frac{1}{2}$ Takās while Halkundi rupee was equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ Takās. Takās were used in the statements during the period of Aurangzeb and other Moghul Emperors.

(4) The pergana officers and even village officers had right to remit land revenue in part and also to postpone it if failure of crop or any other unusual

circumstances made it impossible to recover. Statements show such remission and postponement. For arrears of revenue, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes were held responsible and bonds were taken from them for the same. We find from the statements that they used to incur debts from local money lenders to make up payment to the Government and the debt and its interest were charged to the next year's land revenue. Such items are found to the debit side of the statements.

(5) On collection of the revenue, the pergana officers deducted their own remuneration, expenses of maintaining accounts, amount spent in charities, Darbar Kharch or expenses incurred at the Shibandi or Military detachment, etc. There is an item such as Mejbani Kharch or expenses of feast to Sena Sahib Subha.

(6) After deducting the expenses of collection, remuneration to the village and pergana officers and other usual charges, the balance was divided and half of it and in some cases even more was paid by those officers to the Bhoslas for Chauth and Sirdeshmukhi and Army expenses as was agreed between the Nizam and the Bhoslas; while the other half went either to the Jaghirdars, Mukasdars or the Subhedars of the Nizam as the case may be.

(7) Āmils, who supervised the pergana officers on collection of revenue, were appointed by such Jaghirdars, Mukasdars or Subhedars and the state of affairs at the time of the Do-amli or dual control was of great mismanagement. The Nizam was the nominal ruler and hardly anything went into the treasury of the Nizam out of the revenue of Berar.

(8) The Bhoslas were particular in getting their dues from Berar. Their officers would sometimes recover the whole amount from the pergana officers and then pay a nominal share to the Nizam out of the income of the pergana. Army of the Bhoslas, that of the Nizam and sometimes band of robbers would devastate the standing crop or deprive the villagers and farmers of their grain and other movables; the pergana officers had to arrange with the leaders of such army for supply of provision or advancement of cash, before such army would cause any loss or hardship to the poor villagers of the pergana. Berar, in fact, was nobody's child during the Do-amli Government and the pergana officers had to depend for the safety of the pergana on their tactful management which at times failed to the utter ruin of the pergana.

(9) This state of affairs continued till 1803 A. D. when Berar was handed over to the Nizam after the treaty made by the British with the Bhoslas. During the Nizam's Government, the matter became still worse. Under Do-amli management the Bhoslas, who used to recover their dues regularly, would not trouble the pergana and used to protect them against molestation from the Nizam's officers or from raiders and bandits. But since 1803 A. D. Nizam's rule became the rule of the farmers, Maktedars and also creditors deputed by the Government. The mismanagement continued more or less till 1853 A. D. when Berar was assigned to the British.

Patna—Her Relations with the John Company Bahadur.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.)

Introduction.—Few cities in Hindusthan have such eventual history as Patna, for its annals stretch back to Pataliputra, in the sixth century B. C. Coeval for centuries with such cities of the ancient world, as Babylon, Persepolis, Thebes, Sparta, Alexandra and Rome, “this historical town of the Gangetic valley,” was a witness to a long series of panoramic events, prominent among which, were the rise and fall of the powerful Buddhist Kingdoms of Magadha, the devastating waves of foreign inroads on the north-western frontier of India, the invasions of Greece by the ancient Persians and their utter overthrow at Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis and Plataea (B. C. 490-479), the age-long contest between Rome and Carthage for the empire of the world, the sack of Rome by the hordes of barbarians towards the end of the fifth century, the Saracenic expeditions against Arabia, Sicily, Spain and France in medieval times and the Great Renaissance of the fifteenth century when, with “the revival of the classic arts and letters, the spirit of the ancient civilisation again burst forth into a blazing flame spreading light and warmth over the whole of the modern world.”

2. *Patna identical with Pataliputra*—*Sher Shah the founder of modern Patna.*—The modern city of Patna has been identified with the ancient city of Pataliputra by scholars like Lieut-Col. Waddel, Dr. Hoey, Sir A. Cunningham, Dr. Spooner and Mr. F. J. Monahan, I.C.S., and others. The following extract from the *Early History of Bengal* by Mr. F. J. Monahan, I.C.S., regarding the foundation of the modern city of Patna may aptly be quoted:—

“About thirty-five miles south-east of Patna there is a small town which stands on the site of the ancient and important Buddhist monastery of Uddandapura and has been called on that account, Vihara or Bihar. This town after its capture by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiar in 1197 became a Muhammadan head-quarters and gave its name to a province. In 1541 Sher Shah, the able Afghan adventurer, who made himself ruler of Bengal and Behar, removed the headquarters of the local government from the town of Bihar to that which stood on the ancient site of Pataliputra, but was then known by the name of ‘Pattana’ meaning ‘the mart’—a name which seems to shew that the place was of some commercial importance. Thus ‘Pattana,’ which gradually came to be known as Patna, became a provincial capital and has so remained to the present day.”

The following account from the *Tarik-i-Daudi* throws more light on Sher Shah's efforts to establish the foundation of modern Patna:—

“Sher Shah, to whose foresight must be ascribed the foundation of the city of Patna, on his return from Bengal in 1541 came to Pattana, then a

small town dependent on Bihar, which was the seat of the local government. He was standing on the bank of the Ganges, when, after much reflection, he said to those who were standing by:—‘ If a fort were to be built in this place, the waters of the Ganges could never flow far from it, and Pattana would become one of the great towns of this country.’ He ordered skilful carpenters and bricklayers to make immediately an estimate for building a fort at the place where he stood. These experienced workmen submitted an estimate of five lakhs, which on the spur of the moment was made over to trustworthy persons. The fort was completed and was considered to be exceedingly strong. Bihar city from that time was deserted and fell to ruin; while Pattana (afterwards Patna) became one of the largest cities of the province.”

3. *Patna's commercial growth.*—The city under the protection of this fort soon became a centre of commerce and the rapidity of its growth can be seen from the following accounts given by Ralph Fitch, who, as “ England’s pioneer to India and Burma,” visited Patna only forty-five years after it was founded by Sher Shah:—

“ Patna is a very long and great town. The houses are simple, made of earth and covered with straw; the streets are very large. In this town there is a trade of cotton and cloth of cotton, much sugar, which they carry from hence to Bengala and India, very much opium and other commodities.”

4. *Beginning of the East India Company's relations with Patna.*—The fame of Patna as “ a great trading centre ” of Hindusthan soon attracted the notice of European merchants in India. We find from the factory-records, “ Patna, Vol. I ” that in the year 1620 the first English Commercial Mission consisting of two merchants started from the Agra factory¹ to Patna “ to purchase an assortment of ‘ amberty calicoes ’ from the Bihar traders and at the same time to see whether they could secure Bengal silk on advantageous terms.” This was the first relationship of the East India Company with the city of Patna—an event which took place in the sixteenth year of the Emperor Jehangir’s reign.

5. *The letter-book of the first English factors of Patna.*—The book, which contains the letters which these two merchants wrote to the different English factories then existing in India, as well as to the Company, has survived and from its pages a first-hand report is to be found of the East India Company’s past relations with Patna. We learn from it that the task of establishing a factory at Patna, and thus of establishing for the first time British relations with that city, was entrusted to Robert Hughes, who was at this time second at the Agra factory, and that John Bangham had been despatched from the Surat factory to act as his Assistant in his new post. Bangham, however, was detained on the way; and on the 5th June 1620, Robert Hughes fearing to lose the season for investment, determined to start alone, taking no merchandise, but merely bills of exchange to the value

¹ In January 1618, the English factories in the dominions of the Great Mughal numbered five in all: Agra, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur (Khandesh), Broach and Surat.—Foster’s *Factory Records*, 1618-21. Introduction.

of Rs. 4,000. The letter-book further informs us that after being nearly a month on the road, he reached his destination on July 3, and found himself warmly welcomed by the Subadar of the Bihar province, the Nawab Muqarrab Khan,² who had previously had much to do with the English both in Gujarat and at Court. With his assistance a house was secured, though not rent-free, in the principal part of the city; and upon the arrival in the month of September of John Parker (who had been sent in place of Bangham, diverted to Lahore), with a quantity of English merchandise, a start was made at Patna with the business of providing suitable investments for Europe. As raw silk, brought in the cocoon from Bengal, was to be had in large quantities in Patna, Robert Hughes promptly purchased a stock and set a staff of workmen to reel it off into suitable skeins. Samples of these, with some bales of calico and other goods, were despatched to the Agra factory at the end of November, together with a sanguine account of the prospects of the trade.

6. *Ill-luck of the first band of Patna factors.*—A prolonged experience, however, materially abated the merchants' hopes, especially when a somewhat discouraging report on the goods already sent arrived from the Agra Factory. The silk was found to have been unskilfully wound; and although the raw material could no doubt be procured at a cheaper rate at Patna than at Agra, yet, when the charges of transport and the cost of Factory were added, the result was unfavourable. Though the calicoes of Patna were cheap and of excellent quality, yet it appeared to the Agra factors that it would be better on the whole to buy them at higher rates at Agra than to maintain a factory at Patna for such commodities alone. During this time the factors of Patna sustained a double misfortune in the month of March 1621. First, the city was devastated by a fire which laid the greater part in ruins and cost upwards of 300 lives. The factors managed to save themselves and the greater part of their goods; but the Factory House they had occupied was burned to the ground. The letters which Robert Hughes wrote to the Factors at Agra and also to the President and Council at Surat on the 31st March 1621, throw a flood of light on this mishap. "On the 24th March 1621," he writes, "being Saturday, about noon at the west part of the suburb belonging to Patna, at least a course (*sic*) without the walls in the Allumganj, a terrible fire kindled which having consumed all those parts by the force of a strong *andhi*³ broke into the city and within the space of two greese⁴ (*sic*) came into the very heart thereof where our abode is." Secondly, Muqarrab Khan, who was both a liberal purchaser and a good paymaster, was transferred to Agra, and Prince Parviz, Emperor Jehangir's second son, was appointed governor

² Muqarrab Khan had recently been superseded in the Government of Gujarat by Prince Khurram (Shah Jehan). It will be seen from the *Factory-records*, 1618-21, that he was transferred first to Patna and then to Agra.

³ Hindi, *andhi*, a gale or tempest.

⁴ Hindi, *ghari*, a clepsydra or water-clock, hence the interval of time (about 24 minutes) indicated by the clock.

in his stead. He reached Patna at the end of May or early in June 1621 and at once proceeded to turn out many of the principal inhabitants and the English factors as well from their houses which he liberally bestowed on his numerous retinue. The difficulties and physical sufferings of the English at Patna during this time have been fully described in the letter⁵ of Robert Hughes to the Factors at Agra, dated Patna, the 2nd June 1621. It is scarcely a matter of surprise that under these untoward circumstances the enthusiasm of the Patna factors cooled rapidly and we may well believe that the decision of the Surat Council to close the Patna factory was by no means unwelcome. We find from the records⁶ that Hughes left Patna for Agra on the 13th September 1621 and Parker followed a few weeks later. Thus the first attempt of the English to establish their relations with Patna ended in failure. We also find from the aforesaid papers that "about thirty miles south of Patna there was a large cotton-weaving district containing the town of Lukhawar which was a great centre of 'amberty-calicoes'."

7. *Second attempt to establish a factory at Patna ends in failure.*—Twelve years later by a strange blunder on the part of the Surat factory authorities, the relations between the East India Company and Patna were resumed. The invaluable journal of Peter Mundy, an English factor, throws a flood of light on this point. We find from this journal that according to the instructions from Surat, in which they wrote "Patna" when they really meant "Samana",⁷ Peter Mundy was sent on the 6th August 1632 with an Indian broker to Patna to renew the experiment which had terminated so unsatisfactorily in 1621. He reached his destination on the 17th September 1632, "with eight carts laden with barrels of quicksilver and parcels of vermillion for the Honourable Company's account to be there sold and the money to be there invested, as also to see the state of the country what hopes of benefit by trading into these parts" (*sic*). He succeeded in selling some quicksilver and vermillion; but the prospects of trade were uninviting and after only two months' stay at Patna he left again for Agra on the 16th November 1632. Thus the second attempt of the East India Company to establish relations with the city of Patna also proved abortive.

Cowry (shell) trade in Patna.—One interesting point we glean from the factory-records of this period is that shells (cowries) called 'perewinckles,' indented from the Maldivé Islands, formed one of the mercantile commodities of Patna in the year 1633. "These shells were useful for those who were engaged in the guinea trade." That these cowries were also used as money in this country then, will be evidenced from the following statement

⁵ *Factory-records*, 1618-21, p. 256.

⁶ *Factory-records*, 1618-21, introduction.

⁷ Samana is a town of about 11,000 inhabitants in Patiala State, about 16 miles south-west of the capital. Lieut.-Col. Dunlop-Smith, late Political Resident at Patiala, states that in Samana (which was the capital of an important province until the Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak transferred his head-quarters to Sirhind) there is still a *mohalla* or ward, called Nurpura, inhabited chiefly by *Jalahas* (weavers) who possess *farmans* from the Mughal emperors exempting them from all taxes on their trade. (*Factory-records*, 1618-21, introduction.)

of Nicholas Ufflett:—"For your pice in Agra you may have 30 cowries (*sic*), a kind of fish-shell which come out of Bengala." (Factory-records, Misc. Vol. XXV.) We also find from the *Factory Records, Surat, Vol. I*, page 211, that "the cowries, called 'perewinckles,' were also current about the parts of Brampore (*sic*) and in payment of small money" during that period.

8. *A retrospect of the period 1620-32*.—A hurried glance may be made of the events of the period between the years 1620 and 1632 during which the East India Company were making unsuccessful attempts to establish their relations with Patna. This period may be divided into three stages: (a) 1620 to 1623; (b) 1624 to 1629; (c) 1630 to 1632. The history of this period not only gives a clear idea of the initiation of the early company's settlements and relations in the East, but also furnishes materials for a brilliant chapter of the economic and political annals of the early Mughal India. Students who are eager to get detailed information of this stirring epoch of India must refer to the factory records of the corresponding period which are to be found either in the archives of the India Office or in the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum. No set of these records are available either in the archives of the Government of India or the Government of Bengal. It is believed that they were destroyed, partly by the cyclone and flood of 1737 and partly during the sack of Calcutta by the Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah in 1756. Most of these records are entirely new to historical students. Of the remainder a few have been printed, in whole or in part, in *Purchas his pilgrimes*, and in *The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (Hakluyt Society), 1899.

9. *Three different stages of the period 1620-32*.—To the first stage (1620-23) belong the temporary abandonment of the English factories in the Northern India; the rupture of relations with the Mughal authorities at Surat, followed by the conclusion of a fresh agreement (an incident hitherto unnoticed by historians), and on the east coast; the dissolution of the partnership between the Dutch and English at Pulicat. As regards general events, there is the death of Prince Khusru, the rebellion of Prince Khurram (afterwards Emperor Shah Jehan), his utter rout, and the gradual reconquest of Gujarat by the Imperial forces. To the second stage (1624-29) fall several important events of the Mughal Empire—the long rebellion of Prince Khurram; the *coup-d'état* of Mahabat Khan, which for a time reduced the Great Mughal, Jehangir, to a cypher; the death of Prince Parwiz (October 1626), followed a year later by the decease of the Emperor himself; the proclamation of Dawar Bakhsh as his successor; the fruitless attempt of Nur Jehan's candidate, Prince Shariyar, to secure the throne himself; finally the accession (February 1628) of Prince Khurram—henceforth the Emperor Shah Jehan—which placed the reins of government once more in the grip of a strong person. During the same period the relations of the English with India fluctuated considerably; on the whole, however, their position was much improved. By 1629, they established their commercial relations so firmly in the esteem and regard of the Indian merchants that they were able

to borrow from them about £100,000 for the purpose of providing cargoes for England. A special feature of this period is the hindrance caused to the Company's commercial relations with India by the continued hostilities with the Portuguese in Eastern waters. On the Coromandel side, there also happened several important events. These were the attempt on the part of the Company to establish a factory in the Tanjore country (1624); the foundation of a settlement at Armagaon (1626); and the temporary abandonment of Masulipatam (1628) owing to the disputes with the local officials. The third stage (1630-1632) marks a period, highly important in the economic history of India, during which the current of the British relations with this country received a check.

Famine of 1630—Its after results.—In the year 1630, in the second year of the reign of the Emperor Shah Jehan, we find from the factory-records that, "India suffered from a severe famine, which extended over the whole country with the exception of the northern river basins. The resultant loss of life was terrible; and amongst other effects was a general cessation of cultivation and manufacture entailing a corresponding shrinkage in the export trade." The terrible accounts of the effects of this famine can be gathered from the *Badshah-Nama*, Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. VII, page 24, Dr. H. T. Colenbrander's edition of the *Batavia Dagb-Register*, 1631-34, page 33, Peter Mundy's *Narrative of his journey from Surat to Agra towards the close of 1630*, page 90, and Van Twist's *Generale Beschryvinge van Indien* (1648). It is stated that "the all-absorbing topic of 1630 was the frightful famine which, following three bad seasons had culminated in an universal dearth all over the Indian continent of whose like in these parts no former age hath record; the country being wholly dismantled by drought, the poor mechanics, weavers, washers, dyers, etc., abandoning their habitations in multitudes, and instead of relief elsewhere, have perished in the fields for want of food to sustain them. Many of the inhabitants fled to the northern provinces which had escaped the famine; while others in desperation attacked and plundered all but the strongest parties of travellers. From Gujarat to the Golconda coast, the land became one vast charnel-house. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness." Letters from the President Rastell and others to the Company,

dated Surat, 31st December 1630 and from Mr. James Slade and others to the Company, dated, on board the *Mary*, at Swally, the 9th December 1631, also furnish valuable information regarding this dreadful calamity. As the result of this famine, "the English merchants suffered with the rest, but with characteristic energy they turned their attention to the development of fresh sources of profit by opening up trade in the Bay of Bengal, establishing factories at Hariharpur (near Cuttack) and at Balasore." A further result of the diminution of commerce caused by the famine "was the commencement of negotiations for an understanding with the Portuguese, which would, it was hoped, not only extend the area of English trade but also remove some of the grave obstacles from the way of the Company's relations with this country."

10. *English relations with Patna after 1632.*—For nearly 18 years after the failure of the East India Company's second attempt to establish relations with Patna in the year 1632, there is no mention in the records of any important event either in the transactions of the Company or in their relations with Patna worthy of attention. The unsettled state of England during the Civil Wars in the reign of Charles I was not favourable to the interests of either of them. As soon as domestic tranquillity was restored under the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, the East India Company established a factory at Hughly and a trading agency at Patna in 1651 and thus their relations with the latter city were again resumed. The following opening paragraph of the paper of instructions^s which Capt. John Brookhaven of the *Lioness* issued, on behalf of the Company, to Messrs. James Bridgeman and Edward Stephens, who played a prominent role in the establishment of the aforesaid factories, breathes religious fervour and reveals the great anxiety of the English to cultivate holy and amicable relations not only with Patna but also with India:—

"Principally and above all things you are to endeavour with the best of your might and power the advancement of the glory of God, which you will do best by walking holily, righteously, prudently and Christianly in this present world, so that the Religion, which you profess, may not be evil spoken of and you may enjoy the quiet and peace of good conscience towards God and man and may always be ready to render an account in a better world, where God shall be Judge of all."

11. *Mughal government causes rupture of relations between the English and Patna.*—In 1651, the English came to Hughly full of confidence that their effort to establish their relations with this country would be crowned with success; but in less than ten years, that confidence was utterly destroyed. They saw how little control the then Mughal Government could exercise over the arbitrary proceedings of their subordinates. They were, therefore, forced to consider in what way they could best protect themselves and their commercial relations with Patna against the oppressions of the local Officers.

The seizure of saltpetre* from the English merchants at Patna and their consequent dispute with the Mughal officials as also with the Nawab Mir Jumla brought a serious rupture of relations between the English company and Patna. Letters¹⁰ from President Blackman and others to the Company, dated Surat the 28th March and 12th May 1654 and a letter from John Spiller to the Company, dated Ispahan, the 10th April 1654, testify to the truth of this statement. Under the vigorous superintendence of Job Charnock,¹¹ who was the Chief of the Patna factory from 1664 to 1680, the relations of the English with Patna considerably improved. But the account of the next thirty-seven years (1681-1718) forms a dark period of the history of the Company's past relations with Patna.

12. *The famine of 1671.*—It will not be out of place to turn attention for a moment to the deplorable state of Patna in 1671 which vividly brings to mind the harrowing picture of India of the year 1631, an account of which has been given before. In that year Patna was under the grip of a terrible famine. Mr. John Marshall, the Company's factor at Balasore who was at Patna in the year 1671, chronicles in his *Notes and Observations of East India*¹² the extent of this famine from May to August and gives various details concerning it as the following extract will shew:—"In latter end of May 1671 there died of famine at Patna about 100 persons daily and had so for 3 or 4 months; corn was then, *viz.*, wheat 2 rupees and a half per maund, barley 2 rupees, rice fine 4 rupees, rice course 2 rupees and a half, beef 1 rupee and a half, goat flesh 2 rupees, butter or ghee 7 rupees and a half, oil 7 rupees per maund which consists of 80 lbs. June the 19th we came to Patna from Singee. I see upon one piece (*sic.*) of sand about the middle way betwixt the city and the river about thirty-two or thirty-three persons lie dead within about 10 yards compass, from the middle of them and so many by the riverside that could not come on shore but by very many dead corpses, also, abundance upon the sand besides. Now rice for four rupees per maund, being a little while since four rupees seven annas being something cheaper, wood for firing four and a half maund per rupees, hens five and chickens eight per rupees. It is reported that since the beginning of October there had died of famine in Patna and the suburbs about twenty thousand persons and there cannot in that time have gone fewer from the city than 1,50,000 persons. A great number of slaves are to be bought for 4 annas and 5 annas per piece (*sic.*) and good ones for one rupee per piece (*sic.*). In Patna about the 23rd July there died about 250 or 300 persons daily of famine. In and about Patna, rice being five rupees five annas per

* Saltpetre, which forms the chief ingredient of gunpowder, was in great demand in those days on account of the Civil war between Charles I and the Parliament. From the factory records we find, that the East India Company established a saltpetre factory at Singia near Lalganj. This village is situated on the left bank of the Gandak river, about fifteen miles north of Patna. It is frequently mentioned in the early records of the Company as Singee or Singe.

¹⁰ *Factory records*, 1651-54, pp. 252, 271, 279 and also of 1655-60, p. 264.

¹¹ *Hedge's Diary II*, pp. 45-6.

¹² The whole description is written in old style English.

maund best sort. Before the famine there were 4,000 houses inhabited in Hajipur, but now 1,800 are inhabited and out of them many have died. In Patna in 1671 August 8 now die daily here of famine two to three hundred persons in the city and suburbs. Rice now is seven seers per rupee or five rupees eleven annas per maund of best sort and sometimes none to be bought nor bread in the bazar. Upon the 7th August two merchants in Patna threw themselves into a common well and drowned themselves. In Patna and the suburbs died in 14 months last past ending 6th November 1671 of the famine 1,35,400 persons." In this connection it may not be out of place to mention here that from the Factory records of the year 1667 we find that four years before this famine, Patna was visited by a storm of unprecedented violence which "rolled the houses of that great city into heaps and blew down both the English and Dutch houses there."

13. *English relations with Patna from 1680 to 1718.*—Let us now take up the history of the relations between the English and the city of Patna between the years 1681 and 1718. In the year 1680, Charnock left Patna for Cossimbazar and the Company again got into trouble with the Mughal authorities. We find from the papers, that in the year 1681, Nawab Shaista Khan, the Viceroy of Bengal, forbade the English to purchase any saltpetre, threw the new factor of Patna, Mr. Peacock, into prison and imposed a duty of three and half per cent. on all the Company's goods. In 1686 the same Viceroy sent orders to Patna to seize all the Company's property and imprison their servants, and again in 1702, all the English who lived at the city were captured, their goods confiscated, and themselves confined for seven weeks in the common jail.

14. *Rupture of relations.*—These arbitrary acts of the Viceroy put an end to the Company's trade at Patna and for several years we find that they were seriously thinking whether they would continue their settlements at Patna. From the *Bengal Public Consultation books from 1704-1710*, we find that in July 1704, the English trade at Patna was stopped owing to the necessity of paying customs and the Company for the time being saw no other alternative save to recall their agent; the following month however they resolved after all to continue their settlement at Patna. In 1706 the Council at Calcutta seemed so very anxious "to keep their factory going" and to maintain their relations with Patna, "that they sent two of their members, Messrs. Maisters and Chitty, to that city with money and presents." On the 14th April 1707, the aforesaid Council hearing of Emperor Aurangzeb's death and alarmed at the news that it was intended by the Mughal authorities "to raise a contribution of one lakh of rupees on the English merchants to levy forces in order to defend the country," immediately sent orders to their Agents at the Patna factory, "to get all the saltpetre in as fast as they can and that they can come away with the same. If it were necessary they were to bribe to get the petre through." Thus for a time it seemed as if the fate of the East India Company's relations with Patna was sealed for ever. On the 12th May 1707 "bad news was again received from Patna to.

the effect that the Company's Factory at that place was being watched; that on account of the refusal of Messrs. Lloyd and Cowthorp, the Company's Agents at Patna, to pay the contribution money, the *vakil* and some other Indian servants of the Company had been seized." On this the Company were much exercised in their minds as to what they should do to maintain their Factory and relations at Patna. On the 19th January 1708, after much deliberation they came to the resolution "that for the Company's interest we deem it necessary to continue the Patna Factory and to come away from that city the first of next season if the affairs of the Government do not appear better than at present." On the 28th February 1709, it was "agreed after much consultation to continue the Patna factory, now that the Government is more settled"; but this calm did not last long. We find from the *Diary and Consultation book of the United Trade Council in Bengal*, 1711-12, that after Emperor Farrukhsiyar advanced his claims to the Delhi throne in 1712, the English merchants at Patna were again laid under contribution by the Mughal authorities to the great detriment of the good relations between the Company and the city of Patna.

Surman embassy.—In the year 1715 matters came to such a pass that the English Factory of that place was temporarily abandoned, but after the famous embassy¹³ of John Surman to the Court of Emperor Furrukhsiyar—an incident which will ever stand as the greatest land-mark in the annals of the Indo-British relations in the first half of the eighteenth century—the Patna establishment was restored in 1718. Up to the Battle of Plassey there is nothing very striking in the account of the British relations with Patna except the transactions of ordinary mercantile business at that place, such as buying and selling cloths, opium, and saltpetre, repairs of their trading houses and settling the establishment questions of their Factory.

15. *British military relations with Patna.*—During the seven years which followed the Battle of Plassey namely from 1757 to 1764, the relations are mainly of a military nature. During these years, Patna was continuously the centre of British military operations in Hindustan, which count among its numbers Sir Eyre Coote's brilliant march to Patna in 1757, the siege of Patna and its relief by Capt R. Knox in 1760, the Battle of Birpur in 1760 and last, but not the least, the Battles of Patna and Buxar in 1764 to avenge the Patna massacre of Mir Qasim in 1763.

16. *The Victory of Buxar.*—The victory of Buxar, about which the Board at Calcutta reported to the Court of Directors on the 6th November 1764, was scarcely less important to the interests of the Company, than that of Plassey. It made the East India Company masters of the entire valley of the Ganges from the Himalayas to the sea and placed Patna at their mercy. Henceforward the history of British relations with Patna passes beyond the reach of antique research.

¹³ A complete history of the Surman embassy will be found in Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in India*—Vol. II, pt. II.

**Minutes of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the
Indian Historical Records Commission held in the
Committee Room of the Patna University
Library on the 23rd December 1930.**

. PRESENT

(Nos 6—43 were co-opted members.)

1. Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt, C.I.E., M.A., Darjeeling. (In the Chair.)
2. Mr H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I.E.S., Poona.
3. Lt-Col H. L. O. GARRETT, M.A., I.E.S., Lahore.
4. Rao Bahadur Dr S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., (Hony) Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., Madras.
5. Dr SURENDRA NATH SEN, B.Litt., M.A., Ph.D. (attended in place of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal; also represented the Calcutta University).
6. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. JAMES, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law, Patna.
7. Mr H. LAMBERT, M.A., I.E.S., Patna.
8. Dr AZIMUDDIN AHMAD, Ph.D., Patna.
9. Dr SUBIMAL CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Patna.
10. KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI ABDUL MUQTADIR, Patna.
11. Mr K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., Bar-at-Law, Patna.
12. Mr KAMAL KRISHNA BASU, M.A., Bhagalpur.
13. Mr KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L., Sahitya, Kaustubha, Monghyr.
14. SARDAR RAO BAHADUR M. V. KIBE, M.A., Indore.
15. SRIMATI KAMALABAI KIBE, Indore.
16. Mr S. KHURSHEED ALI, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad.
17. Mr K. R. B. DONGREY, Gwalior State.
18. Mr M. B. GADDE, B.A., Gwalior State.
19. Mr V. V. THAKUR, B.A., Indore State.
20. PANDIT S. K. OKA, Dhar State.
21. KHAN BAHADUR D. F. VAKIL, Ratlam State.
22. PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU, SAHITYACHARYYA, Jodhpur State.
23. Mr PARAMANANDA ACHARYA, Mayurbhanj State (Orissa).
24. Mr K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., Madras University.
25. Mr R. SATIANATH AIYAR, M.A., Annamalai University.
26. Dr R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Dacca University.

- 27. Mr SUSHOBHAN CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Oxon.), Dacca University.
- 28. Mr PARMANAND, M.A., Allahabad University.
- 29. Mr S. K. SEN, M.A., Delhi University.
- 30. Mr S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Benares Hindu University.
- 31. Mr A. B. A. HALEEM, B.A., (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Aligarh Muslim University.
- 32. Mr M. MAHFUZUL HUQ, M.A., Calcutta.
- 33. Mr AJIT GHOSH, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.
- 34. Dr J. C. SINHA, M.A., Ph.D., Dacca.
- 35. RAO BAHADUR R. KRISHNARAO BHONSLE, M.R.A.S., Madras.
- 36. Mr R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T., Rajahmundry.
- 37. Mr D. V. POTDAR, B.A., Poona.
- 38. Dr BALKRISHNA, M.A., Ph.D., Kolhapur.
- 39. Mr J. C. TALUKDAR, M.A., Agra.
- 40. LALA SITARAM KOHLI, M.A., Lahore.
- 41. Mr Y. K. DESHPANDE, M.A., LL.B., Yeotmal, Berar.
- 42. Mr S. K. BHUYAN, M.A., B.L., Gauhati, Assam.
- 43. Mr T. G. P. SPEAR, M.A., Delhi.
- 44. Mr A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A. (Secretary).

I.—Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their twelfth meeting at Gwalior.

A conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments on the Resolutions passed at the twelfth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission (Appendix A) was placed on the table and approved. As the result of further discussions on some of those subjects the Resolutions 1-6 and 13 were passed by the Commission at this meeting; the views of the Commission regarding the correction of the lists of inscriptions on Christian tombs are embodied in paragraph XVI of the proceedings.

II.—Disposal of the old Dutch records in India.

(See Resolution 1 of the Twelfth Meeting.)

After considering the replies received from the Local Governments concerned and the report of the Imperial Record Department, which are summarized in Appendix A, the Commission passed the following Resolutions:—

Resolution 1 (i).—That the Commission recommend to the Government of India that the Dutch records in the possession of the Governments of Bengal

and Bombay as well as those in the Imperial Record Office should be concentrated in the Madras Record Office; and the Commission beg to thank the Government of Madras for promising to house the records.

Resolution 1 (ii).—The Commission further recommend that the Government of Madras be requested to resume their policy of publishing important Dutch records.

III.—Treatment of the records in the Peshwas' Daftar at Poona.

(See Resolution 7 (i) and (ii) of the Twelfth Meeting and the letter from the Government of Bombay, Political Department, No 7454-E., dated 25/26th November 1930, to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, in Appendix B.)

The Chairman stated that since their meeting in December 1929, he had paid two visits to the Peshwas' Daftar at Poona. The Government of Bombay had very kindly accepted the suggestions made by him in his notes and approved of the programme of work laid down therein. The Legislative Council had provided Rs 10,000 for this purpose during the present year and there were hopes of the grant being continued in 1931-32. His scheme for the examination, sorting and publication of the Poona records was a practical one and held out a reasonable promise that the work would be brought to completion within a short period, though it did not amount to a counsel of perfection. The *Marathi* papers of historical importance were first picked out and transcribed from the *Modi* to the *Devanagari* script, and then arranged according to subjects and dates, annotated and made ready for printing. The Government of Bombay in spite of its present financial stringency had already issued four admirably printed volumes of selections from these records. The type used was large and new and the special paper imperishable for 40 or 50 years. (The Chairman here handed to the members his own copy of the 'Panipat' volume for inspection.) The Chairman added that the Government of Bombay deserved the sincerest thanks of the Commission for the excellent response which they had made to their past appeals. Mr Rawlinson also spoke on the subject.¹

Mr D. V. Potdar joined in thanking the Bombay Government for what it had done, but complained that the facilities afforded for the examination of the Poona records were not very satisfactory. He urged that these records should be thrown open to the public on the usual conditions, such as that Government might refuse to show certain papers. Those documents that had been hand-listed in the printed hand-lists might at any rate be made available to the public. Dr Balkrishna wanted a list to be made of the documents which were found in the bundles (*rumals*), whether they were of historical or economic interest. Mr Rawlinson pointed out that making a list of every one of the documents in these 27,000 bundles would mean a bigger task than the New English Dictionary. They could not hand-list three crores of papers.

¹ Para. XVIII (4) and Appendix D.

Lt-Col Garrett observed that half the trouble was due to the fact that in most places there was no proper Record Keeper who could authoritatively decide then and there whether a person should be permitted to work among the records as a genuine student or refused permission as the agent of some litigant.

The Chairman in summing up the debate pointed out they could not reasonably ask the Government of Bombay to give selected students free access to the mass of original papers which had not yet been examined and sorted. The papers in the Peshwas' Daftar differed altogether from the records in the India Office or in the Record Department of the Government of India, because the former were tied up in miscellaneous bundles, with labels merely indicating the villages where they were collected and not the dates nor the character of all their contents. Giving to the public unrestricted access to these bundles before sifting their contents, would lead to existing land rights being disputed and relations between the paramount power and the Indian States being questioned, as has been the unhappy experience of the Government of Bombay in the past. There was a further difficulty in that presidency; they could not afford to maintain two properly qualified and responsible record-keepers, *viz.*, one for Bombay and another for Poona, as the cost would be prohibitive, and in the absence of such a record-keeper in Poona, restrictions on the examination of papers there were inevitable. He approved of the suggestion made that record officers from the Indian States might be given facilities for practical instruction in the art of handling, classifying and preserving records, by being placed for some months under the staff, at the Peshwas' Daftar in Poona, so that when they go back to their States they may be able to organize the Record Offices there on modern lines. Similar instruction was given to Archæologists from the States at the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The following Resolutions were then passed:—

Resolution 2.—That the thanks of the Commission be conveyed to the Government of Bombay for their having accepted a working scheme for the speedy completion of the exploration and sorting of the Marathi records in the Poona Alienation Office, and for their undertaking to publish selections from those records in such an excellent form as the four volumes already issued.

Resolution 3.—That the Commission recommend to the Government of Bombay the desirability of placing such unprinted transcripts from these records as have been passed by Government or any local committee advising them, in a reading room for study and transcription by students holding permits, in the presence of some officer.

Resolution 4.—That the Commission recommend to the consideration of the Government of Bombay the adoption of the following rule:—

Such papers among the records in the Poona Alienation Office as are not of a historical or political character but supply only economic information

or data unlikely to disturb existing land rights or political relations, may be placed, in the original, in the reading room for study on previous requisition by approved applicants.

Resolution 5.—That a limited number of scholars (both from British India and the Indian States) and record officers (from the Indian States) may, subject to the previous approval of the Government of Bombay and the facilities of supervision available, be permitted to work in the record room of the Peshwas' Daftar, to learn (and where possible assist in) the work of exploring and studying the Marathi records that is now being conducted there under an expert staff appointed by Government and that the persons enjoying such permission should be subjected to the following rules, namely,

- (a) They are to be supplied with volumes or bundles only on written requisition, provided that these volumes or bundles do not belong to the sections that are classed as confidential.
- (b) No note or transcript is to be allowed to be taken out of the record room without the written approval of the Record Keeper on each requisition.
- (c) Every person applying for a permit must sign a declaration that he will not use any information gathered from these records for the purpose of litigation or appeal to Government.

IV.—Appointment of a whole-time Record Keeper for the Bombay Secretariat Record Office.

[See Resolution 17 (d) of the Tenth Meeting and Resolution 3 of the Eleventh Meeting.]

In the letter¹ No 6865-E, dated the 27th March 1930, to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, the Government of Bombay stated that they did not contemplate the appointment of a Curator for the Secretariat Record Office in Bombay. After giving further consideration to this matter the Commission decided to make the following recommendation to the Local Government:—

Resolution 6.—That the Commission beg again to draw the attention of the Government of Bombay to the necessity of their appointing a qualified whole-time Record Keeper, in view of the great value and quantity of the records held by them.

V.—Modification of the programme of the annual session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Mr Rawlinson complained that the policy of the Commission was drifting along wrong lines, as they often saw many interesting things but did not examine the local records. For instance, he said, they had not visited this

¹ Laid on the table as item No (7) of Para. XVIII.

year any record room in Patna, though the records in the District Judge's court went back to 1790 and were in a most deplorable state, one volume on the extermination of *thugs* being absolutely eaten up by white-ants.¹ He considered that most of the papers read at the public meeting were not directly relevant to the purposes of the Commission and that these papers might simply be printed in the proceedings for the information of the members, instead of being read at a public meeting. Thus they would be able to save in future one clear day which might be usefully spent by them in overhauling the records of the province visited. The Secretary, Mr Abdul Ali, pointed out that the Commission were mainly concerned with the treatment of the Secretariat records in the different provinces and that so long ago as in 1919 the Government of India had received a letter from the Government of Bihar and Orissa telling them that as the province dated only from 1912, the Secretariat record room at Patna contained no archives of historical interest.² The maintenance and supervision of the older records in local or district offices, *e.g.*, civil courts, collectorates, etc., primarily constituted the duty of the local Government; and the Commission could not reasonably be expected to take a stock of all such records. In fact, the Commission had already dealt with this subject at their first and fifth meetings, as could be seen from the detailed note prepared by the Secretary and printed in paragraph XV of these proceedings. The Secretary asked Mr Rawlinson whether the latter wanted that the public meeting of the Commission, where papers on historical subjects were read, should altogether disappear from their programme. Mr Rawlinson, replying in the negative, said that in his opinion greater importance should be attached to the inspection and exploration of local records. The Secretary informed the Commission that after considering the suggestion which Mr Rawlinson had made for increasing the efficiency of the Commission in 1928, the Standing Records Sub-Committee attached to the Imperial Record Department recommended that the time devoted to the annual session of the Commission should be extended from two to three days and the programme of business altered as follows, *viz.*:— (1) public meeting on the first day where selected papers on historical subjects would be read; (2) preliminary business meeting of both the permanent and the co-opted members on the second day, where questions of a general nature would be discussed and suggestions would be invited from co-opted members as to the treatment of records in their own province; (3) second business meeting confined to the permanent members on the third day for the consideration of the more important questions and the final decision of the matters discussed at the preliminary meeting; (4) the Historical Exhibition was to be opened on the first day of the session as before. The new programme appears to have contemplated exhaustive enquiries about local

¹ In this connection see Resolution 11 below.

² D. O. No 6196-R./IVL-17, dated the 28th July 1919, from the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Revenue Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education. See also the first paragraph of His Excellency the Governor's opening speech on page 4 above.

records by the members of the Commission. This proposal did not however meet with the approval of the Government of India. Lt-Col Garrett supported Mr Rawlinson's views, urging that it was the duty of the Commission, as a body of experts, to pass on their knowledge about the care and preservation of records to the keepers of the local records. There was an animated discussion on this question in which some of the co-opted members took part. The general sense of the meeting, which was strongly voiced by Dr R. C. Majumdar and Dr S. C. Sarkar, was against the total omission of the item of the public reading of papers at future sessions, as it would be a mistake to go from one extreme to another and to restrict the functions of the Commission only to the technical treatment of the records. There was no doubt that the preservation and publication of historical records in private hands had been greatly helped by the far-reaching policy inaugurated in 1920 by the Hon'ble Mr (afterwards Sir) Henry Sharp, the then Education Secretary to the Government of India, of associating the public with the work of the Commission through their public session.¹ The Chairman explained the principle followed in regard to the acceptance of papers for the public meeting of the Commission, *viz.*, (1) that they should deal with records or the interpretation of records and (2) that the time-limit for reading a paper should be fifteen minutes.² He thought that their main purpose had been neglected not so much because they read papers for three hours on one day, but because of their having had to fulfil many engagements of a social nature. He suggested that in future the Secretary should reduce the number of their social engagements and make provision for an entire day to be devoted to the exploration of the local records.

The following Resolutions were then passed:—

Resolution 7 (i).—That the programme of the Commission be so modified in future as to make visits to and exploration of the local records the main work of the session, one entire day being set apart for this purpose.

Resolution 7 (ii).—Further, that the time devoted to the reading of papers at the public meeting should be reduced by a stricter discrimination among the papers submitted for acceptance, it being borne in mind that the primary object of the Commission is the work of archivism.

VI.—Legislation for the preservation and destruction of official records in India.

This subject was suggested in a Memorandum³ contributed to the public meeting of the Commission by Lt-Col H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, who had embodied therein

¹ See the public speech delivered by the Hon'ble Mr Henry Sharp at the Second Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission in Lahore, printed on pages 3 and 4 of Volume II of the Proceedings.

² See Resolution 8 of the Fifth Meeting and further discussions on the subject on page 158 of the Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting.

³ Pages 33-43 above.

the result of his investigations in the various record offices in London. The matter was considered along with the subjoined note prepared by the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India.

Note regarding the preservation and weeding of records in the Imperial Record Department.

Lt-Col Garrett has suggested that the function of the Record Offices in India should be altered so that they may be repositories for papers deemed worthy of permanent preservation and the current proceedings should be the affair of the departments concerned. Papers once sent to the Record Offices would stay there permanently, only copies being allowed to go out.

So far as the Government of India Departments are concerned it is hardly possible to observe this procedure, as important decisions cannot be arrived at without consulting the originals.

The procedure about the weeding of the "Company" records and the preservation of documents followed in the Imperial Record Department is explained below. The "Crown" records were weeded by the weeders (retired Superintendents and others) appointed by the various Departments of the Government of India. It is understood that the weeding of the current records is being done departmentally.

Classification of the "Company" Records.

The "Company" records of the Departments of the Government of India in the custody of the Imperial Record Department are classified as A, B and C, according to the following rules laid down by the Indian Historical Records Commission and approved of by the Government of India¹:—

- A.—Documents of historical importance including materials for social and economic history.
- B.—Documents of personal and antiquarian interest.
- C.—All other documents.

The question of the disposal of documents classed 'C' will be considered when the work of classification has been completed.

Preservation of Records.

Most of the methods of preservation of records mentioned by Lt-Col Garrett in his Memorandum were introduced in this Department as early as 1919. The repairing of documents with chiffon (*mousseline-de-soie*) is being practised since 1912. Certain other points are dealt with below.

¹ See Resolution 1 of the Fifth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Resolution by the Department of Education, Health and Lands, No 639-General, dated the 17th June 1923, published in Part I of the *Gazette of India*, dated the 9th idem, page 531.

Paste.

Lt-Col Garrett is quite correct in his views "that all paste used in India, should contain a poison as a protection against white-ants, etc." This point was not overlooked in the Imperial Record Department, where a paste known as "Dextrine Paste", containing dextrine, water, white arsenic and acid salicylic, is being used with satisfactory result since 1912. Corrosive sublimate, being a deadly poison, may act as a better preventive for book-worms, but for the same reason it is not quite safe to allow the paste to be handled by binders and daftaris.

Binding.

Isolated sheets of valuable manuscript volumes of the Imperial Record Department are made up into sections with guards or inlaid where necessary and bound in morocco, niger sheep skin and pig skin with art canvas and buckram sides and with a leather handle fixed with copper rivets half way down the back.

Seals, Maps, Plans, etc.

Special methods are also adopted for the safe preservation of documents containing seals, maps or plans which, from their size or character, are liable to injury if stitched into shell covers in the ordinary way or left in their folded form. Such documents are kept in pamphlet boxes.

Dusting and Cleaning.

In addition to the above measures the shelves and racks of the Imperial Record Department are periodically dusted and raw creosote is applied to them as a protection against the ravages of white-ants and other insects. It may be mentioned that there has been no recurrence of white-ants in the record rooms since 1922, when this system was first introduced.

For dusting the books and records Hoover's Electric Suction Sweeper and Protos Vacuum Cleaner are used.

Fire Appliances.

There are installations of fire appliances in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta and New Delhi. At the latter place pipes have been fitted under the Sprinkler Fire Protection System.

It may be mentioned that the system of repairing in use in this office has been introduced in several Record Offices in India, including some of the Indian States.

The *Staff Manual* of the Imperial Record Department as well as specimens of repairing and binding work done in that office were exhibited at the meeting.

The Commission agreed to pass the following Resolution:—

Resolution 8.—That in the opinion of the Commission legislation similar to that in existence in England should be introduced at an early date, both by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, for the preservation, destruction, etc., of public documents.

VII.—Publication of a manual containing the methods of preserving records.

Mr Potdar suggested that the Government of India might be requested to print a manual describing the methods of preserving records embodied in Lt-Col Garrett's Memorandum¹ and those practised in the Imperial Record Office,¹ for the information and guidance of record-keepers in the Indian States and private persons. In this connection the Chairman observed that the practice of the Imperial Record Department was very useful because they had been in touch with the British Museum and the India Office, London, from the time of Sir George Forrest and had introduced as many improvements as possible from those sources.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 9.—That in the opinion of the Commission it is desirable for the Government of India to print a manual which would describe the best methods of preserving, repairing, sorting and indexing records, with practical hints from the Record Offices in England.

VIII.—Creation of a Provincial Record Office for Bihar and Orissa.

The following Resolutions were passed after a consideration of the paper entitled "The Bihar and Orissa Records—their range and the nature of their contents",² read by Mr Kamal Krishna Basu at the public meeting of the Commission:—

Resolution 10.—That the Commission recommend to the Government of Bihar and Orissa to establish a provincial record office, at which the historical records surviving in the districts and divisions would be concentrated, and to place this office in charge of a competent record-keeper, with facilities for study by genuine students subject to the conditions that usually obtain in other record offices.

Resolution 11.—That, in view of the deplorable condition of the papers relating to the old correspondence of the Judge and Magistrate of Patna and the correspondence of the Thagi and Dacoity Commission in the record-room of the District Judge of Patna, a request be made to the Government of Bihar and Orissa to take proper steps for the preservation of these records.³

¹ Paragraph VI above.

² Pages 55-67 above.

³ Paragraph V above.

IX.—Correction of the inscription on the Memorial Pillar in the Old Patna Cemetery.

This subject was dealt with in a paper entitled “The Patna Massacre of 1763”,¹ contributed by Sir Evan Cotton to the public meeting of the Commission.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 12.—That a copy of Sir Evan Cotton’s paper be sent to the Government of Bihar and Orissa for such action as they may consider fit.

X.—Commemoration of historical buildings in Patna.

(See Resolution 4 of the Twelfth Meeting.)

The following Resolution was recorded on the subject:—

Resolution 13.—That the Commission beg to invite the attention of the Government of Bihar and Orissa to the desirability of placing commemorative tablets on the historical buildings in Patna on the lines adopted in Calcutta.

XI.—Commemoration of historic sites in India.

As the result of some discussion the following Resolution was passed:—

Resolution 14.—That the Commission recommend to the various Governments the desirability of placing memorial tablets on historic sites (such as the field of Panipat), and preserving similar monuments where they already exist.

XII.—(i) Army Historical Research in India.

- (ii) Appointment of Captain H. Bullock, representative in India of the Society for Army Historical Research, London, as a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

The Secretary placed before the Commission the following note with a view to facilitating the consideration of a paper by Capt. H. Bullock, entitled “Some Openings for Army Historical Research in India”,² read before the public meeting of the Commission. A copy of the Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, London, Volume VII, 1928, sent by Capt. Bullock was shown to the members.

Note by the Secretary.

The records relating to the Indian Army in the possession of the Government of India and the Governments of Madras and Bombay have been dealt with in the Handbooks³ of their respective Record Offices, which are available

¹ Pages 10-32 above.

² Pages 150-51.

³ (a) A Handbook to the Records of the Government of India in the Imperial Record Department, 1748-1859. Price Rs 5 (obtainable from the Manager, Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta).

(b) Report on the Madras Records, by H. Dodwell. Price Rs 1-14 (obtainable from the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras).

(c) A Handbook of the Bombay Government Records, by A. F. Kindersley Price Rs 1-1 (obtainable from the Superintendent, Government Printing, Poona).

for sale. A brief description of these records down to the dates they are open to the public for purposes of *bonâ fide* historical research are given below. The records of a later date so far as the Government of India are concerned, are either in the Imperial Record Department or at the Army Head Quarters. The military records of the Governments of Madras and Bombay close with the year 1895 when the Presidency Army system was abolished and the complete control of the military affairs was assumed by the Government of India. Besides these there are records at the divisional and regimental headquarters.

I.—Government of India.

1. (a) Military Department—1760-1859.
- (b) Marine Branch—1838-59.
- (c) Quarter-Master General—1773-1859.
- (d) Board of Ordnance—1775-86.
- (e) Military Board—1786-1858.

The earlier records of the Home (Public) Department which are available in the Imperial Record Department from 1748, and the records of the Foreign and Political Department from 1756 should also be consulted for information on military matters.

- 2.¹ Government of Madras—1787-1859 (Incomplete).

There are also a few papers pertaining to the Records of the Old Madras Army (1757-59).

- 3.¹ (a) Government of Bombay—1797-1859.
- (b) Records of the Old Bombay Army—1819-59.

These records terminate with the year 1893.

- 4.¹ Government of the Punjab—1854-59.

II.—Government of Madras.

Military and connected Departments—1751-1856.

The earlier records which date back to 1670 and the contemporary records of the Public Department should be consulted in order to obtain complete information.

III.—Government of Bombay.

Military Department—1787-1859.

The earlier records which date back to 1646, specially those of the Public Department which begin from 1720, should be examined by all curious students of history.

The Local Governments or the military authorities concerned should be addressed direct for any further information regarding the records in their custody.

¹ Items 2 to 4 are copies of records of the Local Governments in the possession of the Government of India.

The following Resolutions were recorded in this connection :—

Resolution 15.—That the note prepared by the Secretary be sent to Captain Bullock.

Resolution 16.—That an invitation be sent to Captain Bullock to become a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, so that when he becomes a member a liaison will be established between the Commission and the students interested in Army Historical Research.

XIII.—Condition of the records transferred from the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta to New Delhi.

(See Resolution 10 of the Tenth Meeting and Resolution 5 of the Eleventh Meeting.)

It was resolved :—

Resolution 17.—That the Secretary be requested to submit at the next session of the Commission a detailed report on the condition of the records already transferred from Calcutta to New Delhi and how they have stood the journey.

XIV.—Publication of the Manuscript on the “ Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindaris, 1811-13 ”, composed by Lt-Col James Tod.

The Chairman informed the Commission that this Manuscript was found in the Central Provinces Record Office and that the Local Government had printed, without editing, 30 copies of the same for official use. There were no historical records in Tonk, which was the seat of the dynasty founded by the most successful of the Pindari leaders, evidently because its rulers had been more busy with the sword than with the pen. In the circumstances, it was obviously desirable to give greater publicity to the aforesaid Manuscript, which contained reliable first-hand information about the Pindaris.

It was accordingly resolved :—

Resolution 18.—That the Commission recommend that the document be properly edited and printed and that funds be asked for from the Government of India for this purpose.

XV.—Centralization of the district records of the Bengal Presidency in order to facilitate researches among them by advanced students and teachers of Indian History.

The above suggestion was made by Dr Surendra Nath Sen in a paper entitled “ A Peep into the District Record Rooms of Bengal ”¹ read before the public meeting of the Commission. In the following note the Secretary explained the action which had already been taken by the Commission in the matter.

¹ Pages 85-8 above.

Note by the Secretary.

Agreeably to the suggestion contained in paragraph 10 of the Government of India (Department of Education) Resolution No 77-General, dated the 21st March 1919, the question of concentration of the older records was considered by the Indian Historical Records Commission at its first meeting in June following on the basis of the information noted below:—

“ In Madras all documents prior to 1820 have been concentrated in the Central Record Office. In Bombay there are no district records prior to 1818 and the district records connected with land are still in the districts. The Surat Factory records have, however, been removed to the Provincial Record Office. In Bengal, they are exclusively in the districts. It is understood that the way in which the older records are kept in the districts is very unsatisfactory. In the case of Assam it is possible that there are records of importance in district offices up to about 1830.”

The Commission passed a Resolution recommending that the old records in the District Offices of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa should be concentrated in the Provincial Record Offices and that the attention of other Local Governments (excluding Madras and Bombay) may be drawn to the desirability of concentration. The Commission also considered that even where the records had been printed, the original papers were of considerable value and that it would be well to preserve them either in Provincial Record Offices or in local libraries or in museums. This Resolution was brought to the notice of the Local Governments by the Government of India. The Government of Bihar and Orissa reported that they could not take up the work for want of funds. The Government of Bengal promised to consider the matter.

The following note was recorded at the fifth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission and brought to the notice of the Local Governments:—

“ The Commission have heard with satisfaction of a scheme initiated by the Hon'ble the High Court at Fort William in Bengal for the establishment of a Central Judicial Records Office in Calcutta in which all the Records now stored in the various District Judges' Offices in Bengal shall be collected and preserved; and they would be glad to know whether arrangements of this kind are being made by the other High Courts in India. With regard to the records in Collectors' Offices they will be glad to know what arrangements have been made by the various Governments for their preservation.”

Owing to financial stringency the Provincial Governments dropped the scheme for the establishment of a Central Judicial Records Office. With regard to the records in Collectors' Offices the replies received from the Local Governments showed that in Bengal certain rules had been laid down by the Board of Revenue for the preservation of records. In Madras proper care was taken of records and periodical inspections had been enforced. In the United Provinces all official records were kept in *bastas* which were examined periodically. In Bihar and Orissa, records were kept in good condition and steps

had been taken to prevent their damage by white-ants. In the Central Provinces old records which were kept in *bastas* had been examined, arranged and listed. These had been transferred to the Secretariat Record Room. There was a Record Keeper in the North-West Frontier Province who looked after the records. In Assam the old records in charge of the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup were being sorted. In Coorg, papers on subjects of perennial interest were kept in flat files in almirahs. In Baluchistan the original copies of records of rights were preserved in district record-rooms and duplicate copies were kept by the Patwaris of villages. Revenue registers of unsettled Tahsils were kept in the Tahsil Offices.

The Commission suggested that a copy of Dr Sen's paper together with a copy of the Secretary's note might be communicated to the Government of Bengal.

XVI.—Inscriptions on Christian tombs.

(See Paragraph 8 of the Proceedings of the Twelfth Meeting.)

Referring to the questions raised by some of the members, the Chairman said that many Local Governments were unable to revise the lists of inscriptions on Christian tombs for want of funds, and that the Commission would not be justified in asking them to prepare further lists of the Hindu and Moslem tombs (which, by the way, were not confined to particular localities in any town or district) within their respective jurisdictions. He thought that lists of corrections to the inscriptions on Christian tombs might advantageously be drawn up by interested scholars and placed at the next meeting of the Commission for communication to the Local Governments concerned. It was recommended that the Chairman's suggestions be communicated by the Secretary to the Indian Universities, leading historical societies and institutions in India, to the ordinary and corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the co-opted members for the present session.

XVII.—Date and place of the next meeting.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 19.—That the date and place of the next meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission be settled in the usual manner by the Secretary in consultation with the President.

Mrs Kibe briefly addressed the meeting in Hindi, eulogising the work of the Commission and offering certain suggestions calculated to increase the usefulness of the Commission. The Secretary informed her that her suggestions had been noted and would be acted upon as far as circumstances permitted.

XVIII.—The following papers were laid on the table:—

1. Annual Reports of the Records Offices in India.

2. Report on the classification of the " Company " records in the Imperial Record Department.

3. Reports¹ of research work done by the following corresponding members of the Commission :—

- (1) Rao Bahadur Dr S. K. Aiyangar, M.A., (Hony) Ph.D., Madras.²
- (2) Mr C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Madras.
- (3) Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Rajahmundry.
- (4) Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Poona.
- (5) Mr B. N. Banerjee, Calcutta.
- (6) Dr D. G. E. Hall, D. Litt., M.A., I.E.S., Rangoon.
- (7) Mr S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Gauhati.
- (8) Mr C. Hayavadana Rao, Bangalore.

4. Note³ by Mr Rawlinson regarding the work of historical interest done in the Bombay Presidency during 1930.

5. Letter No R-627/29, dated the 8th August 1929, from the India Office, London, to the Government of India, and the latter's reply No 81-General, dated the 6th March 1930, regarding the continuance of the series of publication entitled " The English Factories in India ". [*Vide* item 4 of the Conspectus (Appendix A) printed in the Proceedings of Meetings, Volume XII.]

6. Endorsements from the Department of Education, Health and Lands No 894-General, dated the 31st May 1930, and No 1493-General, dated the 9th September 1930, with enclosures, regarding the free interchange of publications issued by the various Records Offices in India with those of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and the Baroda State. [*Vide* item 6 of the Conspectus mentioned above.]

7. Letter from the Government of Bombay, No 6865-E., dated the 27th March 1930, to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, regarding the treatment of records in the Bombay Secretariat, Poona Alienation Office and Commissioners' Offices in the Bombay Presidency. [*Vide* item 2 of the Conspectus mentioned in the preceding entry.]

8. Letter from the Government of Bombay (General Department), No 425-D., dated the 1st December 1930, to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, with enclosures, intimating that the printing of selected inscriptions from the graveyards of European Settlements prior to 1880 A. D. has been postponed indefinitely for want of funds and that all materials so far collected will be deposited in the Record Office of the Secretariat for the use of research students.

¹ Summaries printed in Appendix C.

² Latterly appointed an ordinary member of the Commission.

³ An extract from this note containing certain items of information which are not embodied elsewhere in the proceedings is printed in Appendix D.

9. List of commemorative tablets on historic buildings in Bengal. [*Vide* Resolution 4 (i) of the twelfth meeting.]

10. Note on the publications issued from the Bengal Secretariat Record Room.¹

11. Statement showing the price fixed for the *Press-list of Bengal and Madras Papers, 1746-85*. [*Vide* Resolution 1 (ii) of the ninth meeting.]

12. Revised list of corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.²

¹ A summary is printed in Appendix E.

² See Appendix G.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments, etc. on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Twelfth Meeting.

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<p><i>I. Disposal of the Old Dutch Records at Chinsura.</i></p> <p>Resolution 1.—That it is desirable that all the Dutch records in India should be collected in one record room in order to facilitate their preservation and study. Either the Imperial Record Department or the Madras Record Office would be a suitable centre, but this should be decided by the Government of India in consultation with the Local Governments concerned (Bengal, Bombay and Madras), who should be invited to report what Dutch records they have and on their willingness to house all such records. In the meantime the old Dutch records at Chinsura should be taken over by the Imperial Record Office.</p>	<p>Communicated to the Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal.</p>	<p>The replies received from the Local Governments are summarized below :—</p> <p>The Government of Madras possess 1642 volumes of Dutch records relating to Cochin and the Coromandel Coast, which have all been press-listed and catalogued; while a few have been printed. The Bombay Record Office has got 30 volumes of Dutch records which have been transferred there from Surat. The Government of Bengal have transferred to the Imperial Record Department about 130 volumes and bundles of Dutch and Danish Records, including some English and Bengali documents, which were formerly in the Judge's Court at Chinsura, and they have directed the Collector of Hooghly who has about 3,000 Dutch <i>Pattas</i> or landlords' rent agreements in his custody, to send the same to the aforesaid Department. Most of the Bengal</p>	<p>The Imperial Record Department has got 4 volumes among the Miscellaneous Records of the Foreign and Political Department, which are either wholly or partly in the Dutch language or relate to the affairs of the Dutch Government in the East Indies. These volumes have not been press-listed or translated.</p> <p>3492 sheets of <i>pattas</i> have since been received from the Hooghly Collectors ate.</p>

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<p><i>I. Disposal of the Old Dutch Records at Chinsura—contd.</i></p>	<p>....</p>	<p>records included in the former lot concern accounts, birth, marriage and burial registers, private law suits, etc., and have no political significance. All the three Local Governments are in favour of keeping in one place the whole of the Dutch records available in the different provinces of India. The Government of Madras consider that in view of the large amount of work already done by them as well as upon historical grounds, all the Dutch records should be concentrated in the Madras Record Office. The Government of Bombay leave it to the Government of India to decide whether those records should be housed in Madras, in the Imperial Record Department or elsewhere. The Government of Bengal suggest the storage of the Dutch records at a suitable place, preferably Madras.</p>	
<p><i>II. Tenure of Office of the Corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.</i></p> <p><i>Resolution 2.</i>—That the Commission recommend that the term of office of the corresponding members be fixed at three years as is the case with the ordinary members of the Commission.</p>	<p>Approved.</p>	<p>....</p>	<p>The existing list of the corresponding members was revised with the sanction of the Government of India, and a copy of the revised list was placed on the table.</p>

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<p><i>III. Representation of Burma on the Indian Historical Records Commission.</i></p> <p>Resolution 3.—That the Commission recommend that either (i) the ordinary membership be increased so as to permit of a member for Burma being included, or (ii) the next vacancy should go to Burma.</p>	<p>(i) Owing to financial stringency the number of the ordinary membership of the Commission cannot be increased.</p> <p>(ii) It has been decided not to appoint a representative of Burma to the Commission at this stage, as the future relations between Burma and the rest of the Indian Empire are still uncertain.</p>		
<p><i>IV. Preparation of Lists of Commemorative Tablets affixed by orders of Lord Curzon in 1904 on houses and buildings in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies.</i></p>			
<p>Resolution 4(i).—That the Local Governments be requested to bring the lists up to date with necessary corrections and to send the revised copies for the information of the Commission.</p>	<p>Communicated to the Local Governments and Administrations.</p>	<p>The Government of Bengal have sent a list which is placed on the table.</p>	<p>A revised list has since been received from the Government of Bengal. Corrected lists have also been received from the Governments of Madras and the U. P. and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.</p>
<p>Resolution 4(ii).—That it be suggested to the Government of Bombay that the list for the Bombay Presidency should be sent to Mr Rawlinson, who is willing to revise it.</p>	<p>Communicated to the Government of Bombay.</p>		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<p><i>V. Establishment of a Central Society (with local branches) in Malwa and Rajputana, with the object of searching for, collecting, if possible (otherwise taking copies of), and bringing to the notice of students of history (by means of periodical lists or a special journal) important historical records in the possession of Indian States or private individuals throughout these territories.</i></p>			
<p><i>Resolution 5.</i>—That the Indian Historical Records Commission request the Government of India to invite the attention of the Gwalior and other Indian States to the system recently adopted by the Government of Bombay at the instance of this Commission (<i>vide</i> Resolution 3 of the ninth meeting and Resolution 15(ii) of the tenth meeting), for taking cheap and rapid photographs of historical records in private possession and making them available to scholars for study, by keeping the photographs in a record office open to the public.</p>	<p>Communicated to the States of Hyderabad, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Dhar, Dewas (Junior), Ratlam and States in Rajputana.</p>		
<p><i>Resolution 6.</i>—The Indian Historical Records Commission request the Government of India to draw the attention of His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia's Government to the desirability of establishing a department for collecting and publishing records connected with its history and the history of the States with which it had relations in the past. The Commission is encouraged to make this recommendation in view of the admirable efficiency and success of the sister department of Archaeology already established by the Gwalior State.</p>	<p>Communicated to the Gwalior State.</p>		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
<i>VI. Treatment of Records in the Peshwas' Daftar.</i>			
<p><i>Resolution 7(i).</i>—That this Commission whilst desiring to express their appreciation of what has recently been done by the Bombay Government for the preservation and classification of the records in the Peshwas' Daftar, commend the suggestions contained in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's note above* to the notice of that Government for further action and would express the hope that early steps may be taken to carry them into effect.</p>	Communicated to the Government of Bombay.	<p>See the letter from the Government of Bombay, Political Department, No. 7454-E., dated 25th November 1930, printed in Appendix B.</p>	<p>*The note on the treatment of the Peshwas' Daftar submitted to the twelfth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.</p>
<p><i>Resolution 7(ii).</i>—That the Commission further recommend that the purely historical documents already selected and classified should be thrown open to students subject to the usual rules and that a hand-list of these only should be compiled and printed as soon as possible.</p>	Ditto.		
<p><i>Resolution 7(iii).</i>—It is also desirable that the publication of selected historical documents from the collection should be undertaken as funds permit. As these records often relate to the affairs of India in general and are not confined to what happened in the territories now included in the Bombay Presidency, they are of more than provincial interest. The Commission would, therefore, recommend that the Government of India be pleased to make a grant, in aid of their publication, to the Government of Bombay, and would suggest that a sum of Rs. 3,000 be provided for this purpose in the Imperial Budget for the next year, which in their opinion would be sufficient for the purpose.</p>	Owing to financial stringency the Government of India are unable to make any such grant.		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
VII. Preservation of the Mackenzie Collection of Manuscripts.			
Resolution 8. —That the Commission recommend to the Government of Madras that such portions of the Mackenzie manuscripts as are showing signs of crumbling should be copied in batches.	Communicated to the Government of Madras.		
VIII. Use of Vacuum Cleaners by Siemens (India) Ltd., in Record Offices in India.			
Resolution 9. —That this Commission desire that the above fact* may be brought to the notice of the Local Governments and Administrations in India with a view to the introduction of the new vacuum cleaner in their record rooms.	Communicated to the Local Governments and Administrations	The Government of Bombay have sanctioned the purchase of a vacuum cleaner (Sturtevant) for use in the Photozincographic Press, Poona. The Government of Bengal propose to buy a vacuum cleaner for use in their Record Rooms.	* See paragraph 12 of the Proceedings of the twelfth meeting.
IX. Historical Records published by the Gwalior Durbar.			
The following recommendations were made in paragraph 13 of the proceedings :—			
(i) The Commission recorded their appreciation of the valuable service to history rendered by Sardar Anand Rao Bhau Sahib Phalke of Gwalior in printing the Kotah records relating to the Sindhias and desired that the Government of India might be pleased to convey the thanks of the Commission to the Gwalior Durbar and through them to Sardar Phalke for their laudable endeavours in supplying the needs of this branch of Indian History.	Communicated to the Gwalior Government.		
(ii) The Commission also desire that the Gwalior Government may be requested to reprint for the use of the public a cheap edition of the four volumes of Marathi State-papers relating to the Sindhias, of which a very limited number was privately printed at the expense of the Gwalior State under the editorship of the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.			

APPENDIX B.

No 7454-E.

Political Department;

Bombay Castle, 25th/26th November 1930.

From

R. D. Bell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
 Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,
 Department of Education, Health and Lands.

SUBJECT:—*Recommendations made by the 12th Session of Indian
 Historical Records Commission held at Gwalior in
 December 1929.*

SIR,

In continuation of my letter No 7454-E., dated the 19th September 1930, and with reference to Resolution 7 (i) and (ii) of the Resolutions passed at the 12th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, regarding the treatment of records in the Peshwas' Daftar, I am directed by the Governor in Council to state with reference to Resolution 7 (i) that Sir Jadunath Sarkar visited Poona in January 1930, inspected the records in the Alienation Office there and expressed satisfaction at the manner and method of work done by Mr G. S. Sardesai and the temporary staff entertained in connection with the treatment of the more important papers in the Poona Daftar. The note which Sir Jadunath placed before the Commission appears to be based on a slight acquaintance with the records in 1924. In the course of his personal visit last January, Sir Jadunath wrote further notes on these records, and in effect made proposals for the selection of papers of historical importance from certain sections of the Daftar. The papers so selected are now being transcribed, annotated, edited and made ready for the Press. Four brochures of selections from these records have already been printed and published, and, despite financial difficulties, it is hoped to continue work on these lines.

2. With regard to Resolution 7 (ii), I am to say that the need of making documents of historical importance available to students of history has now diminished in consequence of the printing and publication of selections. Students of history are however still permitted by the Commissioner, Central

Division, to inspect those parts of the records in which they are interested, and permission was recently given to the following investigators:—

Dr B. Breloer of Bonn University (Germany),

Professor V. G. Kale, Poona,

Mr G. C. Tambe of Central Provinces,

Mr N. A. Mavlankar, M.A., of Bombay University.

With regard to the latter part of this Resolution, that a hand-list of papers of historical importance should be compiled and printed, I am to say that as these papers are being themselves printed and published with notes, it is not considered necessary to hand-list them.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd) R. D. BELL,

Chief Secretary to
the Government of Bombay.

APPENDIX C.

Summaries of the Reports of Research Work done by Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

1. *Rao Bahadur Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., (Hon'y) Ph.D., Madras.*

1. A paper based on one of the Mackenzie Manuscripts containing the history of the popular South Indian hero, Raja De Sing.

2. A paper on the Rise of the Maratha Power in the South leading to the foundation of the principality of Tanjore, based on well-known Muhammadan records, as well as on the Hindu records of Mysore.

Both published in the *Journal of Indian History*.

2. *Mr G. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Madras.*

1. Two articles (serial Nos 7 and 8) on *The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-61)*, beginning from the English attack on Ariyankuppam and Boscawen's siege of Pondicherry and coming down to Chanda Sahib's siege of Trichinopoly and the first encounter of French troops with Nasir Jung. Published in the *Journal of Indian History*.

2. Two articles (serial) on the *Economic Condition of the Madras Presidency on the eve of the British conquest*, treating of the Jagir District, Nellore, the Northern Circars, the Ceded Districts and Malabar and Kanara. Published in the *Journal of the Madras University*.

3. Historical Notes to the English translation of Burhanu'd-din's *Tuzuk-i-Walajah*, Book I, made by Mr M. Hussain Nainar, of the Madras University. To be published by the Madras University.

3. *Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., Rajahmundry.*

1. Published the following articles in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry*:—

(i) Correspondence between the Hon'ble The East India Company of Fort St George and the Kandregula Family of Rajahmundry, regarding the settlement of the five Northern Circars comprising Guntur, Ellore, Mustafanagar, Rajamahendri and Chicacole with the East India Company.

(ii) Three copper plates containing the inscription of Jayasinha I, the Eastern Chalukya King, of Vengidesa (roughly the Northern Circars), 633-666 A. D.

(iii) Two Copper Plate *inscriptions of Vijayaditya I*, of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty of Vengi, 751-769 A. D.

2. Edited *the History of Kalinga* in Telugu for the Andhra Historical Research Society.

3. *The History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*, published serially in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, commencing from Volume V, Part 2, onwards.

4. *Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Poona.*

Visited Paithan, Aurangabad, Mominabad, Purandar and other places and secured, amongst other things, a number of valuable old literary works as well as some papers, from Mominabad (Nagam), mentioning grants, etc. to the *Maths* of the famous Marathi poet-saint Dasopant. Some of those works and the last-mentioned papers were being published by the Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona.

5. *Brajendra Nath Banerji, Calcutta.*

Research work among the records of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal as well as in public and private libraries in Bengal, also collection of information from the India Office, London, relating to one or other of the following subjects:—

1. *Pandit Jagannath Tarka-panchanan*, the most eminent Bengali pandit of the 18th century, who compiled a Digest of Hindu Law by order of Government. The Digest was translated into English by H. T. Colebrooke in 1796.

2. *Early History of the Vernacular Press in Bengal—1816-35*. An article was published in the issue of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, dated the 22nd November 1930.

3. *Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar*, the first critical sanskrit scholar among the modern Bengalis, a social reformer and philanthropist and an educational pioneer. Mr. Banerji, who is studying this last aspect of Pandit Ishwar Chandra's career, has published some of the results of his investigations in the *Modern Review* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

6. *Dr D. G. E. Hall, D. Litt., M.A., I.E.S., Rangoon.*

Collected, from the India Office sources, of previously unused materials for the compilation of a second volume on English intercourse with Burma, 1744-1824, in continuation of his first volume on "Early English intercourse with Burma, 1587-1743", published in 1928.

7. *Mr S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Gauhati.*

1. Submitted a report on the Old Records at the Assam Secretariat, Shillong, under the orders of the Local Government.

2. Edited *Assam Buranji* or a History of Assam, by the late Harakanta Sarma-Barua.

3. Compiled and edited *Kamrupar Buranji* or An Account of the Conflicts between the Moguls and Assam.

4. Compiled, edited and translated into English the following works:--

(i) *Tungkhungia Buranji* or a Chronicle of the Tungkhungia Kings of Assam, 1681 to 1838 A. D.

(ii) *Padshah-Buranji* or Annals of the Delhi Sultanate, an old Assamese chronicle dealing with the Greater Timurides.

Nos 2 and 3 were published for the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam. Nos 4 (i) and (ii) are in manuscript.

8. *Mr C. Hayavadana Rao, Bangalore.*

1. Edited volume ii (Historical) of the revised edition of the *Mysore Gazetteer*, lately issued by the Government of Mysore, in which a part of the research work done by him among the archives in the Fort St George, bearing on Mysore history, has been incorporated.

2. Examined an important family collection of Historical Manuscripts and other relics in the possession of Mr Karim-ud-din, of Kalasi Palyam, Bangalore City, whose maternal grand-father was a cousin of Tipu Sultan and whose paternal grand-father was Secretary to that sovereign.

APPENDIX D.

Extract from a Note by Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona, dealing with the work of historical interest done under the orders of the Government of Bombay during the year 1930.

2. *Historical Museum, Satara*.—The Museum was opened in July last by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, and is now available to the public. Mr Diskalkar, the Curator, is engaged in arranging and cataloguing the contents.

3. *Poona Daftar*.—Mr G. S. Sardesai, with a staff consisting of one assistant and six readers, has made excellent progress in the work of examining and publishing these records. 1,500 *rumals* had been sorted by September last. These *rumals* were selected from the Peshwa's Diaries, the *Chitnisi Jabsali* and *Jamao Daftars* and "returnable papers". About 3,000 papers have been copied and about 5,000 more selected for copying. The following selections have been printed:—

- (1) Selections referring to the Udgir Campaign.
- (2) Selections referring to the Panipat.
- (3) Selections from the Janjira papers.
- (4) Correspondence relating to Anandibai, the wife of Raghunathrao.

These amount to 489 pages in all. The papers are all unpublished contemporary documents of considerable historical importance, and in many cases throw a flood of new light on the events with which they deal.

N.B.—One more volume containing "League of the Barbhais" has since been published.

APPENDIX E.

Publications of the Bengal Secretariat Record Room, Historical Branch.

(Based on a Note supplied by the Keeper of the Records of the
Government of Bengal.)

The publications dealing with the English records of the "Company" period in the custody of the Government of Bengal can be divided into five classes, namely, (A) Calendars, (B) Printed Records, (C) Select Indexes, (D) Press-Lists and (E) Miscellaneous Publications. A description of these records will be found in the Catalogue mentioned as item no 1, in paragraph 3 of this note.

2. The publications belonging to classes A to D are arranged below under the different groups of records to which they relate.¹

I.—DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT.

Select Committee.

(1) A Calendar of Records of the Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal for the years 1758, 1766, 1767 and 1770. (1915.) *Not for sale.*

(2) *Proceedings of the Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, 1758. Reprint. (1915.) Re 1 or 1s. 4d.

The Select Committee (1756-74; the Committee was non-existent from 1763 to May 1765) was entrusted with the management of political affairs. The main series of records of this body are in the Imperial Record Department.

Committee of Circuit.

Reprints.

(1) Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar and Kasimbazar, Vols I, II & III, 10 June to 17 September 1772. (1926.) Rs 19 or £1.10s.

(2) Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Dacca, Vol. IV, 3 October to 28 November 1772. (1926.) Rs 15-8 as. or £1.4s. 9d.

(3) Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Rangpur, Dinajpur, Purnea and Rajmahal, Vols V, VI, VII & VIII, 16 December 1772 to 18 February 1773. (1927.) Rs 17-8 as. or £1.7s. 6d.

¹ The publications marked with asterisks have been edited by the Ven. W. K. Firminger, M.A., D.D., B. Litt., late Archdeacon of Calcutta.

In consequence of the decision of the Court of Directors in 1771 "to stand forth as Diwan" the Governor Warren Hastings formed a Committee of Circuit consisting of himself and four members of the Board to settle the land revenues of the various districts of Bengal and Bihar on the spot. This Committee existed from 14 May 1772 to February 1773.

Supreme Revenue Authorities.

Press Lists, Series I.

Vol. I.—Proceedings of the Controlling Committee of Revenue at Fort William, April 1771 to October 1772. (1915.) Rs 8-8 as. or 11s. 3d.

Vol. II.—Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, 10 June 1772 to 18 February 1773. (1916.) Rs 4-12 as. or 7s. 6d.

Vol. III.—Proceedings of the Revenue Board of the Whole Council at Fort William, 13 October 1772 to 30 December 1774. (1915.) Rs 17 or £1.5s.

Vol. IV.—Proceedings of the Governor General of Bengal in Council at Fort William, 6 January to 29 December 1775 (1917.) Rs 10-8 as. or 16s.

Vol. V.—Proceedings of the Governor General of Bengal in Council at Fort William, 2 January to 31 December 1776. (1918.) Rs 13 or 19s. 6d.

Vol. VI.—Proceedings of the Governor General of Bengal in Council at Fort William, 10 January to 30 December 1777. (1931.) Rs 2-8 as. or 4s. 6d.

II.—GENERAL LETTERS TO AND FROM THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

(1) Select Index to the General Letters from the Court of Directors, Judicial Department, 1795-1854. (1924.) Rs 2-6 as.

(2) Select Index to General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Revenue, Territorial Revenue, Territorial Financial and Miscellaneous Revenue Departments of the Government of Bengal, 1771-1858. Vol. I. (1926.) Rs 17-4 as. or £1.7s. 3d.

(3) Select Index to General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Separate Revenue, Commercial, Commercial Financial and Territorial Financial Departments of the Government of Bengal, 1765-1854. Vol. II. (1926.) Rs 7-8 as. or 12s.

(4) Select Index to General Letters to the Court of Directors for 1793—1858 and from the Court of Directors for 1827—29 in the Judicial Department of the Government of Bengal. Vol. III. (1927.) Rs 10 or 16s. 6d.

(5) Select Index to General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Public or General, Ecclesiastical, Public Works, Railway, Public

Works Revenue, Legislative and Financial Departments of the Government of Bengal, 1834-56. Vol. IV. (1927.) Rs 9 or 15s.

(6) **Press Lists of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors, 1771-75. (Press Lists, Series I, Supplementary Volume, 1918.) 9 as. or 10d.**

III.—INTERMEDIATE AND SUBORDINATE AUTHORITIES.

Reprints.

(1) **Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad—**

Vol.* I.—27 September to 28 November 1770. (1919.) Rs 8 or 12s.

„ II.—3 to 31 December 1770. (1920.) Rs 6 or 12s.

„ III.—3 January to 14 February 1771. (1920.) Rs 6.

„ IV.—18 February to 28 March 1771. (1921.) Rs 5-4 as.

„ V.—1 April to 15 July 1771. (1922.) Rs 11-8 as.

„ VI, VII & VIII.—18 July to 30 December 1771. (1922.) Rs 16-4 as.

„ VII (A).—2 September to 21 October 1771. (1923.) Rs 4-4 as.

„ IX.—4 January to 28 February 1772. (1923.) Rs 9.

„ X.—2 March to 4 May 1772. (1923.) Rs 9-4 as.

„ XI.—7 May to 25 June 1772. (1924.) Rs 7.

„ XII.—2 July to 8 September 1772, and Copy Book of Letters issued by the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad, 28 September 1772 to 2 March 1774. (1924.) Rs 12.

(2)* **The Letter Copy Books of the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad, 1769-70. (1919.) Rs 8 or 12s.**

(3) **Letter Copy Book of the Supervisor of Rajshahi at Nator (Letters issued), 30 December 1769 to 15 September 1772. (1925.) Rs 5-8 as.**

This is a stray volume containing copies of the correspondence between the Supervisor and the Resident at the Durbar to whom he was subordinate.

(4) **Bengal District Records—**

Midnapore—

*Vol. I.—1763-67. (1914.) Rs 3 or 4s.

*, II.—1768-70. (1915.) Rs 3 or 4s.

„ III.—1771-74 (Receipts). (1925.) Rs 18.

„ IV.—1770-74 (Issues). (1926.) Rs 20-9 as. or 11s. 6d.

Rangpur—

- *Vol. I.—1776-79. (1914.) Rs 3 or 4s.
- „ I.—Supplement. 1770 & 1777-79. (1923.)
- *„ II.—1779-82 (Receipts). (1920.) Rs 8-12 as.
- „ III.—1783-85 (Receipts). (1920.) Rs 14-8 as.
- „ IV.—1779-85 (Issues). (1921.) Rs 7-4 as.
- „ V.—1786-87 (Receipts). (1927.) Rs 32-8 as. or £2 10s.
- „ VI.—1786-87. (1928.) Rs 43 or £3-6s.

Dinajpur—

- *Vol. I.—1787-89. (1924.) Rs 3 or 4s.
- „ II.—1786-88 (Issues). (1924.) Rs 13.

Chittagong—

- Vol. I.—1760-73. (1923.) Rs 9.

Press Lists, Series II, Intermediate Revenue Authorities.

(1) Patna Letter Copy Books, 1765-66, and Proceedings of the Comptrolling Council of Revenue at Patna, etc., 1 January 1771 to 23 December 1773. Vol. I. (1917.) Rs 12 or 18s.

(2) Letter Copy Books of the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad for 1769-70 and 1772-74, and Proceedings of the Comptrolling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, 27 September 1770 to 8 September 1772, etc. Vol. II. (1918.) Rs 13-10 as. or 20s. 6d.

(3) Proceedings of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, 6 December 1773 to 28 December 1775. Vol. III, Part I. (1930.) Rs 2 or 3s. 6d.

Press Lists, Series III, Commercial Authorities.

(1) Proceedings of the Controlling Committee of Commerce, 28 March 1771 to 20 November 1773. Vol. I. (1919.) Rs 2 or 3s.

(2) Proceedings of the Board of Trade, 24 November 1774 to 17 December 1776. Vol. II. (1921.) Rs 28-4 as.

3. The following is a list of Miscellaneous publications (class E):—

(1) Catalogue of the English Records, 1758-1858 and Vernacular Records, 1624-1828. (1922.) Rs 3-12 as.

(2) A Bibliography of Bengal Records, 1632-1858. (1924.) 14 as. or 1s. 6d.

(3) The “ Sannayasi and Fakir Raiders in Bengal ”, by Rai Sahib Jamini Mohan Ghosh, B.A., B.C.S. (1930.) Re 1-8 as. or 2s. 6d.

This is based mainly on Government Records and gives the historical facts connected with the wide spread raids committed by Fakirs and Sannayasis in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century.

(4) Collection of Minutes and Despatches relating to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, printed under the authority of the Revenue Department.
For official use only.

4. The publications intended for sale can be obtained from the Officer-in-Charge, Bengal Secretariat, Book Depot, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

APPENDIX F.

Extract from a Note by Mr M. S. D. Butler¹, C.B., C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, and *ex-officio* President of the Indian Historical Records Commission, dealing with the functions of the corresponding members of the Commission.

(See Proceedings of Meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. VI, page 159, section iii.)

It might be possible to start a system of corresponding members in various centres as is done by various local societies. In that case there would be the nucleus of the permanent members who would be the managing body of the Commission, the co-opted members who would be co-opted for particular meetings of the Commission, and corresponding members who would not be invited to meetings and have no voice in the affairs of the Commission but would give their help by correspondence and would receive the publications of the Commission as a compliment. Such members might do much to keep alive local interest in records and would be available to go to Native States if required.

¹ Afterwards Sir Montagu Butler, Kt, K.C.S.I., etc., Governor of the Central Provinces.

APPENDIX G.

List of Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Serial No.	Names.	Centres.
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I.—IN ENGLAND.

- | | | |
|---|---|---------|
| 1. Sir Edward Denison Ross, Kt, C.I.E., Ph.D.,
Director, School of Oriental Studies London
Institution (University of London), and formerly
Keeper of the Records of the Government of India,
Finsbury Circus, London, E.C.2. | } | London. |
| 2. Sir William Foster, Kt, C.I.E., formerly Superin-
tendent of Records, India Office, 4, Reynold's
Close, London, N.W.11. | | |
| 3. Mr W. T. Ottewill, M.B.E., Superintendent of
Records, India Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.1. | | |
| 4. Sir Evan Cotton, Kt, C.I.E., formerly President of
the Bengal Legislative Council, and a Member of
the Indian Historical Records Commission, 18,
Jevington Gardens, Eastbourne, Sussex. | | |

II.—IN INDIA AND BURMA.

Madras Presidency.

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------|
| 1. Mr C. W. E. Cotton, ¹ C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief
Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George,
Madras. | } | Madras. |
| 2. Rao Bahadur Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A.,
(Hony) Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., " Sri-
padam ", 143, Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras.
(Appointed member of the Commission.) | | |
| 3. Mr C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History,
Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. | | |
| 4. Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle, M.R.A.S.,
Secretary to the Commissioner for Government
Examinations, Madras. | | |
| 5. Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Lecturer in History,
Government Arts College, Rajahmundry. | | Rajahmundry. |
| 6. Mr M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Professor of
History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram. | | Vizianagram. |

¹ Died on the 8th September 1931.

Serial No.	Names.	Centres.
Bombay Presidency.		
7.	Mr S. T. Sheppard, Editor, <i>The Times of India</i> , Bombay.	} Bombay.
8.	Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St Xavier's College, Bombay.	
9.	Dr Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.	Kolhapur.
10.	Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona. (Appointed member of the Commission.)	} Poona.
11.	Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Professor, Sir Parashram Bhau College, Poona.	
12.	Mr G. S. Sardesai, B.A., Kamshet P. O., District Poona.	
Bengal Presidency.		
13.	Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.	} Calcutta.
14.	Dr S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., Reader in History, Calcutta University.	
15.	Mr Mesrobian J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Professor, Armen- ian College, Calcutta.	
16.	Mr H. G. Franks, Journalist, Calcutta.	
17.	Mr B. N. Banerji, 13, Bethune Row, Calcutta.	
17(a).	Mr K. Zachariah, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Hooghly College, Chinsura.	} Dacca.
18.	Dr R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Head of the History Department, Dacca University.	
19.	Dr J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Depart- ment of Economics and Politics, Dacca Univer- sity.	
20.	Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman, Member of the Dacca University Court, Unani Hall, Hakim Habibur Rahman Road, Dacca.	
21.	Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., M.A., Professor, St Joseph's College, North Point, Darjeeling.	Darjeeling.

Serial No.	Names.	Centres.
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United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

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|---|---|----------|
| 22. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, Agra. ¹ | } | Agra. |
| 23. Mr J. C. Talukdar, M.A., Professor of History, St John's College, Agra. | | |
| 24. Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., I.E.S., Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University. | } | Aligarh. |
| 25. Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Head of the Department of Indian History, Lucknow University. | | |

The Punjab.

- | | | |
|---|---|---------|
| 26. Lt-Col H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.
(<i>Appointed member of the Commission.</i>) | } | Lahore. |
| 27. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, Advocate, High Court, and President of the Punjab Historical Society, "Kapilavastu", Lahore. | | |
| 28. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., Lecturer in History, Government College, Lahore. | | |

Bihar and Orissa.

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|--|---|--------|
| 29. The Hon'ble Mr Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S., High Court, Patna. | } | Patna. |
| 30. Dr Subimal Chandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Professor of History, Patna College. | | |

Burma.

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|--|---|----------|
| 31. Dr D. G. E. Hall, D.Litt., M.A., F.R.Hist.S., I.E.S., Professor of History, University of Rangoon. | } | Rangoon. |
| 32. U. Ba Dun, Bar-at-Law, Secretary, Burma Legislative Council, Rangoon. | | |
| 33. U. Khin Maung, B.A., Director of Publicity, Burma Secretariat, Rangoon. | | |

¹ Officiating as Deputy Director General of Archæology in India, New Delhi or Simla.

Serial No.	Names.	Centres.
Central Provinces and Berar.		
34.	Mr R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore.	Jubbulpore.
35.	The Right Rev. Alex. Wood, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., O.B.E., Lord Bishop of Nagpur.	Nagpur.
Assam.		
36.	Mr S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, and Hony Assistant Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies for the Brahmaputra Valley Division, Assam.	Gauhati.
Delhi.		
37.	Mr T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Professor of History, St Stephen's College, Delhi.	Delhi.
Hyderabad.		
38.	Mr S. Khursheed Ali, Director, Daftar-i-Dewani and Mal, etc., H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).	Hyderabad.
Mysore.		
39.	Mr C. Hayavadana Rao, Editor, <i>The Mysore Econo- mic Journal</i> , Siddicutta, Bangalore.	Bangalore.
Baroda.		
40.	Mr R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Manager, Huzur Politi- cal Office, Baroda.	Baroda.
Gwalior.		
41.	Shrimant Sardar Sadashiv Rao Khase Sahib Pawar, Home Member to the Gwalior Government.	} Gwalior
42.	Rani Laxmibai Rajwade, Gwalior.	

Serial No.	Names.	Centres.
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Indore.

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|--|---|---------|
| 43. Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, M.A., Deputy
Prime Minister of the Indore State. | } | Indore. |
| 44. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, wife of the Deputy Prime
Minister of the Indore State. | | |

French India.

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| 45. Mons. A. Balasubramanium Pillai, Member, His-
torical Society of French India, and Retired Head
Clerk, H. E. the Governor's Office, Pondicherry. | Pondicherry. |
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Portuguese India.

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| 46. Mr Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon
Academy of Sciences, Nova Goa, Portuguese
India. | Nova Goa. |
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| 47. Capt. H. Bullock, Representative in India of the
Society for Army Historical Research, London,
Head Quarters, Northern Command, Murree,
District Rawalpindi (The Punjab). |
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APPENDIX H.

**Government of Madras, Finance Department, G. O. No 1024,
dated the 13th October 1921.**

**Rules Regulating the access of the public to the records in
the Madras Record Office.**

NOTE.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bond fide* historical research.

1. The Madras Record Office is open daily (excepting Sundays and Government holidays), the hours of admission being 11 a.m.—4-30 p.m.
2. Persons wishing to examine the records should apply in writing to the Curator, Madras Record Office, stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications, and the object with which they wish to examine them.
3. All applications should be disposed of by the Curator in accordance with the rules drawn up from time to time by the departments to which the records belong. In the case of records belonging to the Revenue Department after 1800 and other departments less than 100 years old, the Curator should refer to Government.
4. Government reserves to itself the right to refuse or to modify any application.
5. Inspection is allowed only in the Madras Record Office itself.
6. Permission must be obtained to take copies and extracts and to make use of information gained from the records.
7. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records is required to deposit one copy of his work as soon as published, in the Madras Record Office.
8. Persons not wishing or being unable themselves to examine the records, should apply to the Curator, who will, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken, at the cost of the applicant, either by the Assistants of the Madras Record Office or by some other reliable person.
9. A separate slip shall be clearly written and signed by every person for each paper or volume he requires before any record can be produced. The slip is returned to him when he again hands over the record.
10. No person may have more than five single documents, or two volumes out at a time.
11. Big folio volumes are to be placed on book-rests and handled as little as possible.

12. No person may lean on any of the documents, or put one on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

13. No sort of mark with pen, pencil or otherwise, may be made on any record. Tracing is not permitted.

APPENDIX I.

(1)

Rules affecting private access to records of historical interest in the office of the Chief Commissioner of Coorg (introduced in February 1920).

NOTE.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bond fide* historical research.

1. The office of the Chief Commissioner is open daily (excepting Sundays and other holidays) between the hours 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.

2. Persons wishing to examine the records should apply in writing to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, Bangalore, stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications and the object with which they wish to examine them.

3. The Chief Commissioner reserves to himself the right to refuse or to modify any application. It is desirable, therefore, that applications should reach this office at least a week before the inspection of the records is desired.

4. Inspection will be allowed only in the office of the Chief Commissioner.

5. Permission must be obtained to take copies and extracts and to make use of information gained from the records. (Typed copies can be supplied at the rate of one anna for 50 words.)

6. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records, is required to deposit one copy of his work as soon as published, in this office.

7. In the case of persons not wishing or being unable themselves to examine the records, arrangements will be made for the search to be undertaken by a member of the office, at the cost of the applicant.

8. A separate slip must be clearly written and signed by every person for each paper or volume he requires, before any record will be produced. The slip will be returned to him when he again hands over the record.

9. No sort of mark, pen, pencil, or otherwise, may be made on any record.

10. A list of the records to which these rules apply, is appended. Original documents are not accessible to students, but only the printed copies.

List of Records of Historical Interest kept in the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Coorg.

The history of Coorg and the Coorg Rajas is given in Volume III of *Rice's Gazetteer*, pages 89 to 201.

Bundle 1 of 1834.—Slavery in Coorg.

Printed memorandum and correspondence on the subject (printed in 1863).

Letter No 97, dated 19th July 1836, to the Superintendent of Coorg, forwarding a copy of a letter of the Secretary to the Government of India conveying their approval for the emancipation of the Punnah slaves in Coorg.

Bundle 2 of 1834.—Future administration of Coorg.

Letter dated 25th July 1834, from Mr W. H. Macnaghten, to Lt-Col J. S. Fraser.

Regarding the revenue and judicial administration of Coorg.

Abolition of transit duties.

Sanction to the establishment of the English Department of his office.

Bundle 3 of 1834.—Letter dated 21st May 1834, from Mr Macnaghten, to Lt-Col Fraser, regarding the annexation of Pootoor and Umr Sooleay to South Canara.

Letter dated 29th August 1834, from Mr Macnaghten, to Lt-Col Fraser, regarding the annexation of Pootoor and the other place.

Slavery in Coorg.

Cardamom and sandalwood produce in Coorg.

Customs Houses on the Frontier of Mysore.

Bundle 4 of 1834.—Contains papers regarding the surrender of the Raja of Coorg (Vira Raja) and the annexation of Coorg.

(1) Letter dated 14th April 1834, from Mr W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Governor General, to Lt-Col J. S. Fraser, Political Agent for the Affairs of Coorg. Vira Raja to move immediately to Bangalore. Provision for his maintenance. Strength of the Force.

(2) Letter dated 22nd April 1834, from Mr W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Governor General, to Lt-Col J. S. Fraser, Political Agent for the Affairs of Coorg. The country being in favour of being taken under British protection.

The administration to be conducted in the interval in accordance with the terms of the Proclamation. Strength of the force of occupation.

(3) Letter dated 9th August 1834, from Mr W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Governor General, to Lt-Col J. S. Fraser, Political Agent for the Affairs of Coorg. Confirmation of the sentence of death passed upon Kane-yara Umbu. Method of awarding punishment.

(4) Letter dated 24th September 1834, from Mr W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Governor General, to Lt-Col J. S. Fraser, Political Agent for the Affairs of Coorg. Approving of the draft Regulation for the administration of Coorg.

(5) Letter dated 21st December 1836, from Mr W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Governor General, to Lt-Col J. S. Fraser, Political Agent for the Affairs of Coorg. Forwarding a copy of a letter No 26, dated 23rd June

1835, from the Court of Directors regarding the invasion and subjugation of the Petty State of Coorg.

Gives a history of the situation in Coorg. Approves of the removal of the Raja to Bangalore and the appointment of Lt-Col Fraser as Resident in Mysore and Commissioner of Coorg with a salary of Rs 36,000 *per annum*.

(6) Letter dated 2nd May 1836, from Mr W. H. Macnaghten, to Lt-Col Cubbon, Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg. Asking for a report as to how far the resources of the country are capable of meeting the disbursements to the ex-Raja for his maintenance at Benares and the expenditure required for the future administration of the country.

Bundle 5 of 1834.—Contains a translation in English of the Will of Vira Rajendra Woodyar, written on 23rd May 1809.

Bundle of 1844.—Contains a letter No 121 of 1844, dated 6th September 1844, from Major-General Cubbon, to the Secretary to the Government of India, regarding the banishment of Luchmee Narrain, late Dewan of Coorg.

File 86/1885, Sl 13. Regarding the Administration of Coorg after the Rendition of Mysore to the Maharaja of Mysore. Decision of the Government of India that the Administration of Coorg shall form part of the Resident's charge.

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

(2)

Rules affecting private access to records of historical interest in the office of the Commissioner of Coorg (introduced in September 1920).

These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bonâ fide* historical research.

1. The office of the Commissioner is open daily (excepting Sundays and other holidays) between the hours 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.

2. Persons wishing to examine the records should apply in writing to the Commissioner of Coorg, Mercara, stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications and the object with which they wish to examine them.

3. The Commissioner reserves to himself the right to refuse or to modify any application.

4. Inspection will be allowed only in the office of the Commissioner.

5. Permission must be obtained to take copies and extracts and to make use of the information gained from the records.

6. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records, is required to deposit one copy of his work as soon as published, in this office.

7. In the case of persons not wishing or being unable themselves to examine the records, arrangements will be made for the search to be undertaken by a member of the office, at the cost of the applicant.

8. A separate slip must be clearly written and signed by every person for each volume he requires, before any record can be produced. The slip will be returned to him when he again hands over the record.

9. No sort of mark, pen, pencil or otherwise may be made on any record.

10. The above rules apply to the records known as Rajas' Sists and Hukumnama.

Records of Historical interest kept in the Office of the Commissioner of Coorg.

Rajas' Sists.—The Rajas' Sists are a compilation of accounts of settlement operations conducted by the Coorg Rajas during the years 1805-1816. Every cultivated field was measured, the soil classified and the kandayam or assessment fixed. Bane lands and hithlumanedalas for the service of the wet wargs, communal and sirkar lands, village sites, water sources, forest lands, etc., have all been specified in the accounts. The sists consist of 27 volumes

and deal with the accounts of the various nads as they existed during the Rajas' time.

Reference has been made to these books in the preliminary report of the Land Revenue Re-Settlement of Coorg in the following terms:—

113. The first revenue settlement which seems to have been reduced to the form of accounts or, indeed, of which any record is available is that conducted by the Rajas Dodda Virarajendra and Lingarajendra from 1805-1816, the results of which are found in the accounts known as the *Rajas' Sists*. These accounts were compiled for each village and were bound together according to nads in leather covered books which are now preserved in the Commissioner's office. They are signed by the Rajas themselves and are marvels of neatness and accuracy—the Doomsday Books of Coorg.

* * * * *

118. For the purposes of their revenue settlement the Rajas Virarajendra and Lingarajendra carried out a survey of cultivated lands and recorded the results in the *sists*. The unit of measurement was a rod of 16 ft in length which was known as a *kolu*, while an area of 16 feet square was called a *sale kolu* and was approximately 1/170th of an acre. The areas recorded in terms of this survey are found to be remarkably accurate, but no attempt was made to measure banes or unoccupied lands of any sort, although they were in most cases demarcated with rough stones.

* * * * *

130. The Rajas' settlement was based upon a soil classification which was comparatively elaborate and recognised the fundamental principle that in the case of wet cultivation in so hilly a country as Coorg, an adequate water supply is the first essential; accordingly wet lands were divided into seven classes by consideration of their comparative elevation. The best dry lands were similarly divided, while wantiholas (inferior dry lands) were classed according to soil as red, black, sandy, and gravelly.

Before fixing the assessment of wet lands, however, these seven classes were further divided according to their productivity. Virarajendra ordained eleven and his successor nine classes, and these classes were arranged in the order of the number of seers of paddy which a *sale kolu* (256 square feet) of the land was assumed to be able to produce.

* * * * *

Hukumnama of Lingarajendra Wodeyar, Raja of Coorg.—The *Hukumnama* of Lingarajendra is composed of 53 orders, issued from the Diwan Kacheri in Mercara, in 1811 to the Nad Parpattigars, and through them to

the shanbogs, patels and ryots, and dealing with a variety of administrative matters which may be divided into the following four classes:—

- (1) Principles of Conduct and Rules of Procedure for Government servants.
- (2) Administration of the Land.
- (3) Assessment and Collection of Revenue.
- (4) Protection, and Dispensation of Justice.

These orders are of considerable interest as they throw light on the condition of Coorg one hundred years ago and twenty-five years before the British occupation.

APPENDIX J.

**Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings, Seals
and Coins, etc., exhibited at Patna in connection
with the 13th Annual Meeting of the Indian
Historical Records Commission.**

From the Imperial Record Department.

1. Copy of a Treaty with Shujaud-Daulah, Nawab Vazir of Oudh.
[Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, No 1 (b).]

2-6. Copies of *farmans* from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam granting the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, the previous *Diwan*, in consequence of the above grant. (Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, Nos 2-6.)

7. Copy of a *Farman* confirming to the Company, the reversion of Lord Clive's *Jagirs*, agreeable to Nawab Najmud-Daulah's *sanad* before obtained. Written on the 24th of *Safar* of the 6th year of the *Julus*. And the contents of the *Zimn*. (Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, No 7.)

8. Copy of the Articles of Agreement between Nawab Najmud-Daulah of Bengal and the King of Delhi. (Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, No 8.)

9. Copy of a *Farman* confirming to the Company, Burdwan and the rest of their possessions in Bengal. Written on the 24th of *Safar* of the 6th year of the *Julus*. And the contents of the *Zimn*. (Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, No 9.)

10. Copy of a *Farman* confirming the Company's possession in the Carnatic. Written on the 24th of *Safar* of the 6th year of the *Julus*. And the contents of the *Zimn*. (Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, No 10.)

11. Copy of a *Farman* relating to the grant of the five Northern Circars in the Deccan to the East India Company. Written on the 24th of *Safar* of the 6th year of the *Julus*. And the contents of the *Zimn*. (Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, No 11.)

12. Proclamation of peace which was concluded between the East India Company and the Nawab Vazir, Shuja-ud-Daulah, in the year 1765 and ratified by the King Shah Alam. (Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, No 12.)

From the Imperial Record Department—contd.

13. A statement of the fifty lakhs of rupees to be paid by Shujaud-Daulah. A statement of Shah Alam's debt to the Company. These statements are in the handwriting of Lord Clive. (Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, No 13.)
14. Translation of a letter from the King, giving General Carnac a present of two lakhs of rupees. (Pub. Con. 25 Sep. 1765, No 7.)
15. Letter from Mr James Amyatt, claiming further restitution due to the estate of Mr Ellis and enclosing an additional estimate of losses sustained by Messrs Amyatt and Ellis at Patna. With enclosure. (Pub. Con. 6 Jan. 1766, No 3.)
16. Translation of a representation from Muhammad Riza Khan, setting forth the present circumstances of Raja Dhiraj Narain and recommending him for a pension. (Pub. Con. 28 Mar. 1769 [B], No 5.)
- 17-20. Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, transmitting two letters from Lieutenant Lang containing an estimate for repairing the walls of Patna and a plan of the same. With enclosures. (Pub. Con. 26 Apr. 1773, Nos 5-8.)
- 21-2. Letter from Mr Samuel Middleton, Resident at Murshidabad, enclosing a translation of Jagat Seth's *Arzi* relating to the arrears due to him from the *Nizam*, and recommending the continuance of the allowance to the widow and family of the late Dhiraj Narain. With enclosure. (Pub. Con. 7 Jun. 1773, Nos 23-4.)
23. Draft of a letter to Mr Samuel Middleton, Resident at Murshidabad, sanctioning the continuance of the pension to the family of Dhiraj Narain and to Muradud-Daulah. (Pub. Con. 16 Jun. 1773, No 5.)
24. Governor General's minute regarding the introduction of a paper currency. (Pub. Con. 1 May 1780, No 24.)
25. Regulations for Treasury Notes. (Pub. Con. 8 May 1780, No 19.)
26. Form of the Treasury Notes. (Pub. Con. 8 May 1780, No 20.)
27. Proclamation declaring the resignation of Mr Warren Hastings of the office of Governor General of the Presidency of Fort William and the accession of Mr John McPherson, Senior Member of Council, to the same. Endorsement by Mr P. Yonge, Sheriff of Calcutta, declaring that the Proclamation has been publicly read out by him at the Court House. (Pub. Con. 17 Feb. 1785, No 2.)
28. Copy of a Letter Patent from His Majesty (King George III) under the Privy Seal, dated the 7th August 1800, constituting and

From the Imperial Record Department—contd.

- appointing the Most Noble the Marquess Wellesley to be His Majesty's Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of all his land forces serving in the East Indies. (Pub. Con. 26 Feb. 1801, No 1.)
29. Proclamation declaring the appointment of the Most Noble the Marquess Wellesley as Governor General and Commander-in-Chief. (Pub. Con. 26 Feb. 1801, No 2.)
30. Scheme for the enlargement of the Zilla School at Patna. (Educ. Procs 15 Nov. 1861, Nos 26-31.)
31. Contract between the East India Company and East Indian Railway **Company for the extension of the experimental railway line to Delhi**, dated the 15th February 1854. (P. W. D., Railways, Mis. Rec.).
32. Abolition of the office of *Narb Diwan* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. (Sec. Con. 28 May 1772, No 1.)
33. Inquiry into the conduct of Maharaja Shitab Ray, *Narb Diwan* of Bihar. (Sec. Con. 19 Nov. 1772, No 2.)
34. Letter from Warren Hastings, recommending Raja Kalyan Singh to the office of *Rayrayan* of the Province of Bihar on the demise of his father Maharaja Shitab Ray. (Sec. Con. 27 Sep. 1773, No 1.)
35. Appointment of Raja Kalyan Singh to the post of *Rayrayan* of the Province of Bihar. (Sec. Con. 27 Sep. 1773, No 2.)
36. Recommendation from the Governor General to Nawab Asafud-Daulah of Oudh for the grant of certain *jagirs* to Raja Kalyan Singh. (Sec. Con. 17 Apr. 1775, No 1.)
- 37-8. Suppression of human sacrifice in the Hill Tracts of Orissa. (Pol. Con. 19 Oct. 1855, Nos 84-5.)
39. Diary of the three surgeons relating to the Patna massacre of 1763. (For. Mis. No 6.)
40. Addresses presented to His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor General of India, by the Rajas of the Punjab and the Chiefs of Peshawar on the occasion of his visit to those places in 1859. Two originals in Persian together with the printed English translations. (For. Mis. No 384.)
41. From Chait Singh, Raja of Benares. Sends a *hundi* for one and a half lakhs of rupees on account of Benares revenues through his *vakil*, Shaikh Ali Naqi. Says that he is in financial difficulties and requests the Governor General's assistance in the adjustment of his affairs. (Pers. 13 Nov. 1778, No 112.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

42. From Raja Kalyan Singh. Requests the Governor General to procure the release of his *jagir* at Allahabad and to obtain him the *nazranah* from the Dutch factory. Asks for an advance of Rs 50,000 in order to enable him to make a pilgrimage to Allahabad. (Pers. 15 Dec. 1778, No 141.)
43. From Mirza Ghulam Uraiz Ja'fari and Muhammad Baqirul Husaini, sons of Nawab Mir Qasim Ali Khan to Mons. Chevalier. State that their father died of dropsy at Shahjahanabad on the last day of Rabi II. 1190 A. H. (7 June 1777), in great misery. Beg his support and protection. Desire to see him personally but being penniless they are unable to do so. Request monetary help to enable them to wait on him. Bears the seal of Mirza Ghulam Uraiz Ja'fari. (Pers. 25 Dec. 1778, No 164.)
44. From Mir Murtaza Khan (Mir Saidu), a grandson of Mir Jafar Ali Khan. Says that a sum of Rs 5,000 was fixed for his monthly allowance when he was young and had no encumbrances. Now that he is a married man he requests the Governor General to increase his allowance in order to enable him to meet his enhanced expenses. Bears the seal of the Khan. (Pers. 22 Feb. 1779, No 29.)
45. From Ali Ibrahim Khan, Judge at Benares. Reports that the Marathas have released Shah Alam from the room in which he was confined by Ghulam Qadir Khan after having been blinded by him. (Pers. 24 Oct. 1788, No 501.)
46. From His Majesty Shah Alam. Has learnt from the Governor General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu who has invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (Pers. 8 Mar. 1790, No 50.)
47. Certified copy of an address submitted to the British Parliament by Raja Dabendra Narayan, a Zamindar of Bengal, in connection with the trial of Warren Hastings. Attested by Saiyid Tufail Ali Khan, Qazi. (Pers. 1790.)
48. From Tipu Sultan. Says that he has deputed his *vakils* to the Governor General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan. 1702 A. H. (Pers. 12 Feb. 1792, No 114.)
49. From Munni Begam. Complimentary, forwarding a present of pickles and preserves to the Governor General. Bears the seal of the Begam. (Pers. 26 Dec. 1792, No 597.)

From the Imperial Record Department—concl'd.

50. From Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad. Intimates that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of Nizam Ali. (Pers. 10 Feb. 1799, No 19.)
51. From Ghaziud-Din Haidar, King of Oudh. Sends eleven copies of the fifth volume of the *Haft Qulzum*, a Persian Lexicon, of which one is intended for the Governor General's use. Other sets are also being forwarded for distribution according to the enclosed list. Bears the King's seal. Illuminated. (Pers. 8 Jul. 1822.)
52. From Nawab Ahmad Bakhsh Khan. Says that in a previous letter he informed the Governor General of his embarrassing situation. Hopes to be favoured with a reply to the same. Requests the Governor General's support and protection against his enemies. Illuminated. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (Pers. 3 Jul. 1827.)

Repair of Books and Records.

- 53 (i-vi). Manuscripts illustrating the evil effects of using white tracing paper in repairing important documents. (Pub. Con. 2 Jan. 1777, No 6.) The tracing paper was subsequently peeled off and replaced by *mousseline de soie* (chiffon) and other process. (Pub. Con. 3 May 1779, No 1, 22 Nov. 1779, No 17, 29 Nov. 1779, No 8, 13 Dec. 1779, No 10 and 30 Dec. 1779, No 1.)
54. Specimen of repairs with chiffon. (Pol. Con. 24 Feb. 1794, No 13A.)
55. A repaired manuscript volume illustrating how the isolated sheets of damaged volumes can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have durable and flexible binding. (Index to Register of Deeds, Vol. I, 1781-1788.)
56. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae and had almost become a solid mass of paper.

Preservation of Seals.

57. Lord William Bentinck's letter of resignation. (Gen. Con. 20 Mar. 1835, No 1.)
58. Agreement with Raja Swarga Deb of Assam, requiring him to defray the expenses of East India Company's troops serving in Assam. Bears the seals of the Raja and his Minister the *Bara Phukan*. (Pol. Con. 24 Feb. 1794, No 10.)

From the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

59. An Autograph letter (Bengali) of Maharani Bhawani of Natore, September 1784.
60. Seal (Persian) of Maharaja Nandakumar.
61. Another Seal (Bengali) of Maharaja Nandakumar.
62. A Picture of Tamerlane, the Emperor.
63. An Autograph letter from Lord Canning to Mr Lushington. Dated **April 18, 1856.**
64. A Photograph of a *Farman* issued by Emperor Shah Jahan, asking the addressee to proceed at once to the Royal Court with his army. Dated 24 *Jumada* II, 1068 A. H. (29 Mar. 1658). Bears an impression of the palm of the Emperor's hand.
65. A letter (Hindi) addressed by Maharaja Ratan Singhi to Lord **Auckland (Illuminated).**
66. A letter (Persian) to Lord William Bentinck, seeking an interview **with him (Illuminated).**
67. Muhammad Amjad Ali Shah, King of Oudh, to Lord Ellenborough. Says that according to the practice of his country he is entitled to resume the estates of the deceased Begams of Khuld Manzil. Dated 24 *Zul-hijjah*, 1259 A. H. (15 January 1844).
- 68 (i-xviii). Eighteen pictures relating to old army system in the days of John Company.
69. Panorama of the City of Lahore. [?1840]
70. An old Persian Map of Grand Trunk Road, from Delhi to Kandahar.

From the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Archæological Section.

71. *Farman* of Emperor Akbar, issued by Bairam Khan, granting 200 bighas of land to Shaikh Gadabanda for maintenance. This is one of the earliest *farmans* of Akbar, being dated *Muharram* 966 A. H. (Oct. 1558 A.D.) which was the third year of his reign. Bears Bairam Khan's seal.
72. *Farman* of Emperor Jahangir granting 30 bighas of land in *Pargana Panipat* to Adar Banu for maintenance. Dated 1 *Shahriwar* 1025 A. H. (1616 A. D.). Bears the *tughra* and seal of the Emperor.
73. *Farman* of Emperor Shah Jahan addressed to Rashid Khan, Subadar of Khandesh. Is glad to learn that he has subdued a considerable population of Bhils and Kols to ways of peaceful life and that they

From the Indian Museum, Calcutta—*contd.**Archæological Section—contd.*

have engaged to pay the revenues. Has also noted that the Khan has suppressed highway robbery so that the road from Burhanpur to Karara is now safe for all communication. Says that cases of theft are still reported from townships and the addressee as the head of the province is also responsible for this. Dated 25 *Ramazan* 1047 A.H. (7 March 1639 A.D.). Bears the *tughra* and seal of the Emperor as also his autograph.

74. *Nishan* of Princè Dara Shikoh according permission to Mubariz Khan Chughtai to drive out certain members of the Yunus Khel clan from his jurisdiction and conferring on him a grant in perpetuity of the territory held by him. Dated 5 *Rajab*, 15 *Julus* (10 October 1641). Bears the seal of Dara Shikoh, son of Emperor Shah Jahan.
75. *Farman* of Emperor Aurangzeb granting 100 bighas of land in Lucknow to Musammat Ayesha in charity. Dated 2 *Rabi* II, 14 *Julus* (1673 A.D.). Bears the *tughra* and seal of the Emperor.
76. *Nishan* granting 60 bighas of land in *Pargana* Panipat to Rajan and three other pious ladies in charity. Dated 2 *Shawwal*, 15 *Julus* (21 January 1673). On the reverse are the seals of Ahmad Said and another officer of the Emperor Aurangzeb.
77. *Farman* of Emperor Aurangzeb granting 100 bighas of land in *Sarkar* Lucknow to Musammat Zainab and others. Dated 21 *Jumada* I, 20 *Julus* (11 July 1678). Bears the Emperor's seal.
78. *Farman* of Emperor Aurangzeb granting 120 bighas of land in Salimpur in Shahjahanabad to Musammat Aqila and others. Dated 5 *Jumada* II, 37 *Julus* (21 January 1695). Bears the Emperor's seal.
79. *Sanad* granting 5000 *dams* out of *Pargana* Amroha to Mutahhar Ali. Dated 27 *Ramazan*, 6 *Julus* (14 September 1717). Bears the seal of Saiyid Abdullah Khan, Commander-in-Chief of Emperor Farrukh Siyar.
80. *Sanad* of appointment conferred on Muhammad Faiyaz for the office of the Darogha of *Sarkar* Sambhal. Dated *Safar*, 7 *Julus* (January 1718). Bears the seal of Saiyid Afzal Khan, an officer of Emperor Farrukh Siyar.
81. *Sanad* granting 4,00,000 *dams* out of *Pargana* Salimpur to Saiyid Muhammad Shakir and others. Dated 4 *Rajab*, 1 *Julus* (23 May 1719). Bears the seal of Saiyid Abdullah Khan, Commander-in-Chief of Emperor Rafiud-Darajat.

From the Indian Museum, Calcutta—contd.

Archæological Section—concl'd.

82. *Sanad* confirming the grant of 50 bighas of land in *Pargana Kandarkhi* in the vicinity of *Shahjahanabad* to *Fazila Begam* and others. Dated 21 *Ramazan*, 10 *Julus* (20 April 1729). Bears the seal of *Mir Jumla Muazzam Khan Khanan*, an officer of Emperor *Muhammad Shah*.
83. *Nishan* of Prince *Mirza Akbar*, son of *Shah Alam II*, granting *Syedpur* and other villages in *Bengal* for the upkeep of the Mausoleum of *Anwar Shahid* and *Abul Qasim Shahid*. Dated 7 *Muharram*, 7 *Julus* (16 June 1766). Bears the seal of the Prince.
84. *Manuscript Quran*. Transcribed by *Ibrahim* at *Sialkot* in the month of *Ramazan* 1068 A.H. (June 1658 A.D.).
85. *Manuscript Bostan* of *Sa'di*. Transcribed by *Shah Mahmud* of *Nishapur* in *Rabi* II, 954 A.H. (June 1547 A.D.).

Picture Gallery of the Art Section, Indian Museum.

PICTURE GALLERY

Description.

Reg. No.	S. No.	
86.	387	84 Prince seated with a hawk.
87.	12,994	71 Kabir and one of his devotees—back illuminated with Persian verse.
88.	381	56 Alexander the Great—the making of mirrors before him.
89.	541	94 Akbar and Jahangir hawking.
90.	14,061	106 Mughal Prince
91.	22	118 Badshah Aurangzeb.
92.	8 B	126 Prince Muhammad Murad, son of Shah Jahan, on the elephant Iqbal. Sketched by Ghulam.
93.	590	130 Prince Dara.
94.	316	163 Jahangir on elephant hunting tiger.
95.	13,029	160 Emperor Jahangir on a shooting expedition—17th century.
96.	476	139 Procession Scene.
97.	342	136 Court of Akbar who is seated on a throne attended by courtiers.
98.	14,393	137 Court of Emperor Jahangir.
99.	33	151 Portrait of Sa'di.

From the Indian Museum, Calcutta—concl'd.

Picture Gallery of the Art Section, Indian Museum—concl'd.

PICTURE GALLERY			Description.
Reg. No.	S. No.		
100.	187	165	Portrait of Muhammad Shah.
101.	59	173	Portrait of Khan Alam.
102.	35	178	Portrait of Itiqad Khan.
103.	14,209	177	Portrait of Nawab Zulfaqar Khan.
104.	14,142	180	Portrait of Mirza Farrukh Fal.
105.	B 11	...	Jahangir standing with a bow and arrow.
106.	553	..	Shah Muhammad with servant—Persian manuscript at the back.
107.	80	.	Portrait of Surajmal.

From the Calcutta Madrasa.

Persian Manuscripts.

108. *Khamsa-i-Nizami* (Illuminated).
109. *Gulistan* with *Bostan* on the margin. (From the Library of the East India Company). Transcribed in 1213 A.H. (1798 A.D.).
110. *Diwan-i-Jami*. Transcribed in 971 A.H. (1563 A.D.).
111. *Hadiqa-i-Sanai* or *Hadiqatul-Haqiqat*. Transcribed in 1099 A.H. (1688 A.D.).
112. *Khusrau-o-Shirin* by Nizami.
113. *Diwan-i-Asir*.
114. *Masnavi* of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi. Transcribed by Munshi Tek Chand of Panipat in 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.).
115. *Tawarikh-i-Kashmir* by Khwaja Azam. Transcribed by Muhammad Munawwar Qanungo in 1066 A.H. (1655 A.D.).
116. *Qissatul-Jawahir* (Illustrated).
117. *Munajat-i-Gharib* by Shah Abdul Haq Mahaddis of Delhi.
118. *Ajaibul-Bilad* by Pandit Tota Ram Brahman Kashmiri. Transcribed in 1907 Sambat. (1850 A.D.).
119. *Shri Bhagwat* (Illustrated). Transcribed at Shahjahanabad by Mansakh Ram Kaith in 1213 A.H. (1798 A.D.).

From the Calcutta Madrasa—concl'd.*Printed Books.*

120. *Munnul-Jarrahin* (Urdu) or An Atlas of Anatomical Plates of the Human Body by Fred. J. Mouat, M.D. Printed in the Bishop's College Press (3 volumes), Calcutta, 1846 A.D.
121. *Hidayatun-Nahw* of Ibnul Hajib (Arabic). Edited by Lieut. J. Baillie. Printed at the Honorable Company's Press, Calcutta, 1803 A.D.
122. The Turkish History from the origin of that nation to the growth of the Ottoman Empire with the lives and conquests of the Princes and Emperors by Richard Knolles, with a continuation to the present year 1687 by Sir Paul Rycaut, 3 volumes. London, 1687.
123. Photograph of Haji Muhammad Mohsin, the greatest benefactor of the Musalmans of Bengal. After a portrait in the India Office.

From the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

124. Valentyn Travels, Vol. 5 (Mughal Period).
125. Samachar-Darpan, 1824 (A Bengali newspaper).
126. Beluos—Hindu & European manners in Bengal.
127. Chabrelie-Les Inde Francaise, Vol. I.

From the Muslim Institute, Calcutta.*Manuscripts.*

128. Persian Translation of the *Mahabharat* by Abul Fazl.
129. *Ramayan* of Tulsi Das in Persian character.

Paintings.

130. Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh.
131. Qutb-ul-Mulk Nawab Saiyid Abdullah Khan, the "king-maker".

From Prince Ghulam Husain Shah.

- 132-3. Two Portraits of Tipu Sultan.
134. Paintings of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi.
135. *This entry is cancelled.*

From Dr Stella Kramrisch, Ph.D., Calcutta.

Kangra Paintings of the late 18th Century.

- 136. Rama, Lakshmana and Sita in the hermitage of Maharsi Vasist and his spouse Arundhati.
- 137. Rama, Lakshmana and Sita accompanied by the vulture Jatayu on the way to Panchavati.
- 138. Sudama returns to his former hut changed into a golden palace.
- 139. A scene from the Mahabharata (Bhisma and Duryodhana?).

Four Episodes from the Usa-Charita.

- 140. Dream of Usa.
- 141. The portraits drawn by Chitrlekha and the flight.
- 142. Aniruddha being brought to Usa through the air.
- 143. War between Krishna and Banasura.
- 144. Nayika.
- 145. Vishnu and Lakshmi flying on Garuda.
- 146. Krishna and Yasoda (from a hand fan). Kangra, early 18th century
- 147. Grisma (one of a series of Baramasi pictures) Chamba, late 18th century.
- 148. Sannyasi, Chela and Dog, Dated on the back: *Hijra* 1025-1616 A.D. with a signature of Shah Khurram (Jahangir School).

From Mr P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.

Paintings.

- 149. Rana Pratap of Mewar.
- 150. Sepoy Mutiny (Lucknow).
- 151. Enchanted Horse.
- 152-3. Ancient Jain Miniatures.

Rubbings.

- 154. Temple Prashasti of Rajgir dated 1355 A.D. during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, mentioning the names of Malik Baya, as Governor of Magadha (Bihar) and Shah Nasiruddin as his subordinate.
- 155. Temple Prashasti of Pawapuri, the place of Nirvana of the Jain Tirthankara Mahavira, dated 1641 A.D. during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan, by the Shri Sangha of Bihar with traces explaining the text.

From Mr P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L., Calcutta—*contd.*

Manuscripts.

156. Tarikh-i-Nadiri (Persian) with miniatures.
157. Zinatul-Majalis (Persian manuscript). Transcribed by Ali Asghar Kajuri. 1233 A.H. 1818 A.D.
158. Guldasta-i-Mahabbat by Muhammad Sadiq Akhtar. Written in praise of the Marquis of Hastings at the instance of Ghaziud-Din Haidar. Printed in Lucknow. 1239 A.D.-1823 A.D.
(The last page of the book bears the seal of Amjad Ali Shah.)
159. Durbar at Murshidabad (Key) Lithograph.
160. An illustrated Jain Scroll. Such scrolls generally found to measure between 10 to 15 inches wide and several feet in length. It was a fashion in earlier days when requesting an *Acharya* to visit any city, to send the invitation in this form known as "Vijnapti Patra". These begin with a series of pictures illustrating the town, the people, the market place, etc., proceeded by *kumbha*, *kalas* and other auspicious signs. Then follows in writing the formal invitation composed in verse terminating with the signatures of the principal members of the city from whence the invitation issued.

Printed Books.

161. Pali, Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions, by J. F. Fleet, M.R.A.S., and James Burgess, F.R.C.S., M.R.A.S., *London*, 1878. (Only 9 copies of the work were published of which 3 are known to be in India, *viz.*, 2 in Bombay and the copy exhibited).
162. The Lotus of the Ancients (with plates), by R. Dupee, L.L.B., *London*, 1816. (Only 9 copies were printed.)
163. The Elements of Euclid, by O. Byrne, *London*, 1847. (This unique volume illustrates geometrical figures by combination of tints to assist the instructions of the subject.)
164. Sanskrit Text (Romanised) of a Buddhist Drama restored from several hundred pieces of palm-leaves.

Coins.

165. A rectangular copper coin of the 2nd century B.C. Obverse:—Rude figure of king on throne, with the Brahmi legend "maso" on the left hand of the figure.
Reverse:—Top—Three symbols (middle. Ujjain; right, Svastik; left, undeciphered).

From Mr P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L., Calcutta—concl'd.

Coins—contd.

Bottom—Legend in Asoka characters.

“ Senapatisa ”.

“ Lithahasa ”.

In ancient India, coins were also issued in the name of the General. According to some scholars, the word “ Senapati ” of the legend possibly refers to “ Pusyamitra ” of the Sunga dynasty. This is perhaps the only specimen known up to date to Indian numismatists.

166. A round gold coin.

Obverse:—Bust with elephant's scalp, facing right.

Reverse:—Winged Victory (standing) facing left, with right arm outstretched and inscription in Kharosthi character.

The bust on the obverse has been identified as that of Alexander the Great. The elephant's scalp probably signifies a raid into, or the occupation of, a portion of Ariana by Alexander. A similar scalp appears on the bust of Demetrius in his silver issues which signalise his conquest of Northern Ariana.

The legend on the reverse comprises four Kharosthi syllables, viz., “ a, la, sa, dda,” which give the Pali form of Alexander.

The type, so far known, is not represented in the Indian Museum and other collections.

167-72. Six British Indian coins showing errors in Minting.

173-7. Five bronze Chinese Coins of the following descriptions:—

- (i) A square hole in the middle, diameter about $3\frac{3}{4}$ ", perhaps the largest-sized currency;
- (ii) Two holes and twelve signs of the zodiac with their names on one side and Chinese symbols on the reverse, diameter about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ";
- (iii) Smaller-sized, with a round hole.
- (iv-v) Dollar-sized, with a square hole.

178. A brass coin of the German East Africa, 5 Heller. These coins were struck during the Great War, when the original metal was not available.

Miscellaneous.

179. Jewelled ‘ sarpech ’ with inscriptions in Arabic.

180. Portraits of Shah Jahan. Rare specimen of portrait enamelling on gold (17 century). The pieces are from a jewelled necklace.

From Mr Ajit Ghose, M.A., B.L., Advocate, of Calcutta.

Photographs and Paintings.

181. The capture of Bagdad by Tahir, the famous general of Al-Mamun in 197 A.P.¹
182. The Imam delivering the Khutba or Sermon in which by order of the Caliph Al-Amin, the latter's son's name was mentioned before that of Al-Mamun.
183. (a) A heavy fall of hailstones which occurred at Sawaid in Egypt in 232 A.P. in the reign of the Caliph Al-Muta-Wakkil.
(b) A palace built by Al-Muta-Wakkil in Damascus in 234 A.P.
(c) Antioch destroyed by a severe earthquake in 235 A.P.
184. The tomb of Ali, son of Husain, was razed to the ground and ploughed over under orders of the Caliph Al-Muta-Wakkil in 226 A.P.
185. The inhuman murder of Muwayyad, a brother of the Caliph Al-Mutaaz in 242 A.P.
186. A land-slide, caused by heavy rainfall in the reign of the Caliph Wasiq many persons were buried under falling rocks. The lower portion shows a Caravan proceeding to Mecca.
(Photographs of miniatures in the original manuscript of the Tarikh-i-Alfi. Nos 1-6 are written for the Emperor Akbar.)
187. A painting from the romance of Amir Hamza written during the reigns of Humayun and Akbar. (The painting is on cotton and on the back is pasted the leaf of the text which is numbered 27).
188. Miniature (unidentified) from a manuscript written for the Emperor Akbar.
189. A leaf from the Ramayan written for the Emperor Akbar.
190. Sir Thomas Roe at the durbar of the Emperor Jahangir. Contemporary miniature.
191. Emperor Jahangir shooting antelopes. Contemporary miniature.
192. Prince Dara Shikoh, with a specimen of calligraphy, probably by the Prince. Contemporary miniature.
193. Mary and the child Jesus. Miniature of the period of Jahangir.
194. Portrait of St Francis Xavier. Mughul miniature of the time of Akbar—Jahangir.
195. Portrait of Francois Bernier, who visited India in the middle of the 17th century. Contemporary Mughul miniature.

¹ A. P. stand for After Prophet, a new era started by Akbar.

From Mr Ajit Ghose, M.A., B.L., Advocate, of Calcutta—*contd.*

Manuscripts.

196. Manuscript written for the Emperor Shah Tahmasp of Persia by Husain Tabrezi. Illustrated. Each leaf is decorated with different designs in gold. The manuscript bears the seals of Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, Shah Alam and others.
197. A leaf from a Kufic Quran on parchment written in the 8th century, probably in Mesopotamia.
198. A leaf from a Kufic Quran. Written in the 9th century in Egypt.
199. *Sanad* of appointment issued to Shaikh Rahmatullah for the office of the *Muhtasib* at Haveli in Baroda. Dated 11 *Rajab*, 28 *Julus* (20 July 1746 A.D.). Bears the seal of Muhammad Munawwarud-Din Khan, servant of Emperor Muhammad Shah.
200. *Parwana* granting 41,700 *dams* out of *pargana* Amroha in Shah-jahanabad to Saiyid Mazhar Ali. Dated 24 *Zulhijjah*, 3 *Julus* (December 1715 A.D.). Bears the seal of Yaminud-Daulah, Commander of Emperor Farrukh Siyar's forces.
201. *Parwana* granting 53,000 *dams* out of Chandpur in Shahjahanabad to Saiyid Mazhar Ali. Dated 22 *Muharram*, 3 *Julus* (November 1721 A.D.). Bears the seal of Inayat Khan, Officer of Emperor Muhammad Shah.
202. *Parwana* showing the boundaries of the *jagir* granted by Emperor Aurangzeb to Chand Bibi as charitable endowment. Dated 19 *Ramazan* 1082 A. H. (1671 A. D.). Bears the seal of the local officers.
203. *Farman* of Emperor Akbar appointing Kazi Nizam to the office of the *Qanungo* of Bijnor. His duties will be to collect the revenues, encourage the ryots to settle there and generally look after the welfare of the people. Dated 29 *Rabi* II, 978 A.H. (September 1570 A.D.). Bears the Emperor's seal.
204. *Farman* of Emperor Jahangir to the principal officers of the State. They are not to introduce any innovations in the established practice and procedure of the administration and are to refrain from levying certain specified taxes. Dated 10 *Murdad*, 19 *Ilahi* (1605 A.D.). Bears the *tughra* and the seal of the Emperor.
205. *Parwana* granting 360 bighas of land in Nahargarh known as Kanauj to Abdul Quddus and others for their maintenance and the upkeep of a mosque. Written in Persian, Bengali and Hindi. Bears the seal of Shah Qaim Hasan Sur.
206. *Farman* of Emperor Aurangzeb appointing Shaikh Imadud-Din, the *Qazi* and *Muhtasib* of *pargana* Sandela in *sarkar* Lucknow. He is

From Mr Ajit Ghose, M.A., B.L., Advocate, of Calcutta—concl'd.

Manuscripts—concl'd.

granted 2,000 bighas of land out of the pargana for his services and is forbidden to levy unauthorised cesses. Includes other instructions. Dated 11 *Rajab*, 23 *Julus* (July 1861 A.D.). Bears the seal of the Emperor.

207. Aurangzeb's *Farman* to Mu'taminud-Daulah. Desires him not to give any definite reply to Ghalib Khan, who has offered to win over the *Qilahdar* of Sholapur to His Majesty's side, for His Majesty has already commissioned Adil Khan, with the task. Wants him to give an appointment to Bahlol's son and assure him of the royal favour. Eraj Khan is appointed Governor of Berar in place of Shahbaz Khan, deceased. Leaves it to his discretion either to re-appoint Persu, Yusuf and Karan to the cavalry or to dismiss them. The services of the 900 musketeers already with him and 1,000 men that are being sent there under Mustafa Khan, shall be retained till the expedition comes to a successful close. Their pay will be met from the Imperial Treasury. Dated the 22nd *Jamada* II, 3 *Julus* (1661 A.D.). Bears the Emperor's autograph and seal.

From Mr Harit Krishna Deb, Calcutta.

208. A Gold Medal said to have been awarded by a Mughal Prince to Raja Apurba Krishna Deb (1815-67), an Urdu and Persian poet, describing him as *Afsahush-Shuara*, the "Most Eloquent of Poets" and bearing date 1252 Bengalee (1846 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the Raja, who belonged to the well-known Sovabazar family in Calcutta, was a Bengalee Hindu.
209. A Gold Medal awarded to Raja Apurba Krishna Deb by King Fredrick William IV of Prussia.
210. A photograph of a Diamond Star from the Spanish Court conferring on Raja Apurba Krishna Deb a Knighthood of the Royal American Order of Isabella Catolica.

From Mr Mesroby J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Calcutta.

211. An illustrated Armenian Bible, printed by the Mekhitharist Society at Venice in 1733.
212. An Armenian Bible, printed by the Baptist Mission at Serampore (Bengal) in 1817.
213. A Latin-Armenian Dictionary by Father Jacob Villotte, S.J., a French Jesuit Missionary in Armenia and Persia for 25 years. Printed at Persia in 1714.

From Mr Mesrobian J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Calcutta—concl'd.

214. An Armenian-Persian Dictionary, printed at Constantinople in 1826.
215. A Latin translation of the "History of Armenia" by Moses Chorenensis, printed in London with the Armenian text in 1736.
This is the first Armenian book printed in England.
216. The complete numbers of the first Armenian Journal "Azdarar" (Intelligencer), printed and published at Madras from 1794-96.
This is the first Armenian newspaper in the world.
217. An Armenian letter, written in a very small hand from Bombay in 1857. It is a marvellous specimen of Armenian calligraphy, there being 68 lines in an 8° page.
218. A Map of Ancient Armenia engraved at Venice in 1751.
219. Travels by Niebuhr, in French, illustrated, printed at Amsterdam in 1776. 2 volumes.
220. A manuscript of the well-known Arabic poem, *Qasidah Bardah*. Transcribed early 17th century. Bears the seals of Shahun-Nisa Begam and Mansur Ali Khan and others.
221. One beautifully illuminated copy of the 'Quran' with marginal notes in Persian; written in Persia by Mirza Husain in the year 1230 A.H.
222. An illustrated manuscript copy of the *Khamisa-i-Nizami* in Persian.
223. A Persian manuscript book of poems.
- 224 (i-vii). Seven old Persian manuscripts fine specimens of calligraphy, in loose sheets.
225. A portrait of Nawab Shuja'ud-Daulah of Oudh, 1754-75.
226. (i-xxxiii) Indian paintings.
227. One dagger with crystal handle, silver-mounted.
228. One dagger with jade handle.
229. A cornelian seal of a Sassanian King with a Pahlavi inscription.

From Mr Mahfuzul Haq, M.A., Lecturer in Arabic and Persian, Presidency College, Calcutta.

230. A copy of Attar's *Tazkirat-ul-Auliya* written in beautiful *Naskh* Calligraphy, with an illuminated 'Uwan (9th Century Hijra). The manuscript once belonged to the library of 'Abdur Rahim, Khán Khánán', as appears from his autograph note on the fly-leaf.

From Mr Mahfuzul Haq, M.A., Lecturer in Arabic and Persian, Presidency College, Calcutta—concl'd.

231. A copy of 'Ali Yazdi's rare *Hulal-al-Mutarraz* on Riddles, etc. The manuscript once belonged to the library of the Barid Shahi rulers of Bidar (1492-1609 A.D.). Next it passed to the library of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Bijapur and, on the fall of that city in 1097 A.H., it came into the library of Emperor Aurangzeb.
232. A manuscript copy of Sanai's well-known *Hadiqat-ul-Haqqat*. Transcribed in beautiful *Nastaliq* style by Saiyid Jamal bin Saiyid Al-Husaini. Bears the seal of Prince Parwez, the elder brother of Emperor Shah Jahan.

From Mr Mirza Abu Ja'far Kashfi, M.A., Additional Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division.

233. *Tafsir-i-Quran*, being a Persian translation of portions of the Quran. Compiled in Dacca by Muhammad Baqir bin Saiyid Ali-ut-Tabatabai-ul-Isfahani in 1809 A.D. Written in the author's own hand.
234. '*U-yunul Akhbar-ur-Riza*. This is a life-history of Hazrat Imam Riza in Arabic by Shaikh Abu Ja'far Muhammad. Transcribed 1667 A.D.
235. *Iddat-ud-Da'i*, an illuminated copy of a treatise on prayers in Arabic by Allamah Hilli. Transcribed in a very good *naskh* style 1699 A.D.
236. *Sharhul Arba'in 'Ala Tariqal Ahlul-Bait*, an Arabic Commentary on *Hadis* by Bahauddin Amili. Transcribed in a beautiful *naskh* style in 1699 A.D. and is illuminated in gold.
237. *Diwan-i-Jamil*, a small collection of Persian poems, written in a beautiful *nastaliq* style (circa 1753 A.D.).

From Mr Fida Ali Khan, M.A., Reader in Persian and Urdu, Dacca University.

238. *Diwan-i-Zadah of Hatim* (d. 1782), a rare manuscript copy.
239. *Ruqa'at-i-Momin*, believed to be the only extant manuscript copy of the letters of Momin, the famous poet of Delhi (d. 1844 A.D.).
240. *Basit*, the well-known book in Arabic on the Muslim Laws of Inheritance. A rare manuscript.
241. *The Upanishads*. Containing the famous Persian translation of 52 *Upanishads* by Prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan.

From Dr K. R. Qanungo, Professor of History, Dacca University.

242. *Wasaya-i-Hoshang*, a small book in Persian on morals and precepts
Written by Asrarullah bin Mirza Muhammad, and dedicated to
Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan, Muzaffar Jang. A rare manuscript.

From Maulavi Abul Hasanat Ahmad, Dacca.

Pictures.

243. Nawab Nusrat Jang of Dacca (d. 1822) going to witness *Kheda*
operation (in a series of 17 pieces).
244. *Kheda* operations (2 pieces).
245. The *Duldul* procession on the 8th day of Muharram being led through
the streets of Dacca (in a series of 22 pieces).
246. An Ebony block for printing Tibetan charms.

From Hakim Habibur Rahman Sahib, Dacca.

Manuscripts.

247. *Durrul-Manshur or Sabahf-ush-Sharaiif*, being a collection of the
Persian letters of the famous divines, poets, philosophers and
nobles. It also contains short biographical sketches of the writers
and the addressees. Compiled by Muhammad Askari Husain
Bilgrami in 1171 A.H. (1757-8 A.D.) This copy was transcribed
in 1242 A.H. (1827 A.D.).
248. *Tarikh-i-Marhatta*, being the history of the rise and fall of the
Marhattas during the year 1171 to 1199 A.H. (1757-85 A.D.) by
Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan, *Faujdar* of Benares (d. 1208 A.H.
=1794 A.D.). It was compiled during the time of Lord Cornwallis
and has been translated into English by Major Fuller. Rare.
249. *Husn-i-Ishq*, being a translation by Munshi Ghulam Haidar 'Izzat'
of the prose version of the Persian *masnavi*, "Gulshan-i-Ishq"
or "Qissa-i-Gul-o-Hurmuz". It was translated in 1218 A.H.
(1803 A.D.) at the instance of Dr. John Gilchrist, Principal of the
Fort William College, Calcutta. Transcribed 27 *Baisakh*, 1250
Bengali (9 May 1843).
250. *Mufidul-Insha* or *Insha-i-Lakhhiraj*, a collection of 60 letters in
Persian of Munshi Lakkhi Raj *alias* Munshi Ali Quli Khan and
Munshi Muhammad Muhsin Ali, *Mir Munshi* of Prince Azimush-
Shan. This is the only copy of the book extant. Transcribed 29
Pus 1203 *Bengali* (10 January 1797).

From Hakim Habibur Rahman Sahib, Dacca—contd.

Manuscripts—contd.

251. *Makātīb-i-Ghalīb*, being a collection of the Persian letters of Mirza Asadullah Khan, "Ghalīb" of Delhi (d. 1285 A.H. = 1868 A.D.). In the same volume are included the letters of Shaiq (d. 1853) who was a renowned poet of Dacca and the author of a *Diwan*.
- 251-A. *Insha-i-Ibratī*, another collection of letters is also bound up in the same volume. Ibratī was an inhabitant of Azimabad (Patna) and his name was Vazir Ali.
252. *Risala-i-Tashrīh-i-Urdu*, a book on Anatomy in Urdu. Transcribed 1260 Bengali (1853 A.D.).
253. *Tarikh-i-Rahmat Khan*. A history in Persian of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the famous Rohilla Chief.
254. *Mubarak Nama*. This is a set of rules in Persian for the regulation of *Nizamāt* affairs. It has been named after Nawab Mubaraku'd-Daulah, *Nazim* of Murshidabad (1770-93). This is the only copy extant so far as is known.
255. *Tafsir-i-Quran*. This is a brief commentary in Persian of a part of the Quran. It contains a translation of the Quran both in Persian and Pashtu.
256. *Tarikh-i-Husaini Dalan*. This is a history in Persian of the *Imambara* of Dacca called the *Husaini Dalan* by Aqa Mirza Muhammad Shirazi "Makhmur". This copy is in the writer's own hand and is the only one extant.
257. *Al-Kashīf*. This is the famous Arabic book by Imam Zahabi on the science of *Rijāl*. This copy at one time formed part of the collection of the library attached to the mausoleum at Madabad of Hazrat Zinda Pil Jam. The book next fell into the hands of Maulana Abdul Haq, *Muhaddis* Dehlavi. He has also made his own notes on its pages. Extremely rare.
258. *Diwan-i-Hasan*. This is a small collection of Persian poems of Nawab Saiyid Hasan Ali, son of Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan, Muzaffar Jang. Transcribed during the lifetime of Nawab Muzaffar Jang.
259. *Kulliyat-i-Sauda*. This is a contemporary copy of the Urdu works of the celebrated poet of Delhi, Mirza Rafi'u'd-Din "Sauda" (d. 1195 A.H. = 1780 A.D.). Transcribed 7 *Rajab*, 1193 A.H. (22 July 1779).
260. *Kulliyat-i-Insha*. Probably transcribed in the lifetime of the poet. (d. 1237 A.H.).

From Hakim Habibur Rahman Sahib, Dacca—concl'd.

Manuscripts—concl'd.

261. *Kulliyat-i-Mir*. Transcribed in the lifetime of the poet.
262. *Kulliyat-i-Zahur*, a collection of poetical works of Zahuruddin Khwajah Musafiri who flourished in the early part of the 13th Century A.H.
263. An Urdu Translation of "Isis Unveiled", by Jaswant Rai of Sunam (Patiala State) who completed the work in 1892.
264. *Kalid-i-Tilism-i-Ruhani*, being the Urdu translation of "Posthumous" by Jaswant Rai of Sunam. Transcribed in 1829 A.D.
265. *Hypnotism*, an Urdu translation of Alfred Bannet and Charles Ferrar's *Hypnotism* by Jaswant Rai of Sunam. Transcribed in 1892.
266. One beautifully illuminated copy of the Quran with marginal notes in Persian; written in Persia by Mirza Husain in the year 1230 A.H.
267. An album containing autographs of fifteen famous calligraphers extending from the year 1520 downwards.

From H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderabad.

"Farman's".

268. *Farman* of Emperor Azizuddin Alamgir II, granting *jagirs* to Balaji Baji Rao, dated 18th *Rajab*, 1172 A.H. (1756 A.D.).
269. *Farman* of Emperor Azizuddin Alamgir II, granting the town and *Qiladari* of Surat to Balaji Baji Rao, dated 7th *Muharram*, 6th *Julus* (1810 A.D.).
270. *Farman* of Emperor Shah Alam II, granting *pargana* Chandi to Pandit Pradhan, dated 14th *Julus* (1818 A.D.).
271. *Farman* of Emperor Shah Alam II, addressed to Pandit Pradhan, remitting tolls and taxes imposed on the Hindus at the bathing ghats, dated 9th *Shawwal*, 14th *Julus* (1818 A.D.).

Vaqai, Akhbar, etc.

272. *Roznamcha Balda* Hyderabad, *Muharram*, 4th *Julus*.
273. *Roznamcha Vaqai*, Sarkar Raigir, dated 8th *Sh'aban*, 13th *Julus* (1071 A.H.).
274. *Siaha-Vaqai*, Balda Ellichpur, *Subah* Berar, dated 18th *Ramazan* 4th *Julus*.
275. *Siaha-Vaqai*, Balda Ellichpur, *Subah* Berar, dated 8th *Shawwal* 4th *Julus*.

From H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderabad—contd.

Vaqai, Akbar, etc.

276. *Siaha-Vaqai*, Balda Ellichpur, Subah Berar, dated 1st *Shawwal*, 4th *Julus*.
277. *Roznamcha Vaqai*, Subah Baklana, dated 10th *Zul-hijjah*, 4th *Julus* Aurangzeb (1071 A.H.).
278. *Roznamcha Vaqai*, Subah Baklana, dated 10th & 12th *Rabi II*, 4th *Julus* Aurangzeb (1071 A.H.).
279. *Akhbar-i-Shahjahanabad*, dated 14th *Rabi II*, 1183 A.H. (1767 A.D.).
280. *Akhbar-i-Shahjahanabad*, dated 7th *Rajab*, 1187 A.H. (1771 A.D.).
281. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla*, dated 22nd *Jumada I*, 1207 A.H. (1790 A.D.).
282. *Akhbar* of Subah Berar, from 22nd *Sh'aban* up to 6th *Ramazan*, 1196 A.H. (1780 A.D.).
283. *Akhbar* of Asafud-Daulah's Palace, dated 4th & 6th *Zulqada*, 1209 A.H. (1792 A.D.).
284. *Akhbar* of Tipu Sultan, dated 2nd *Shawwal*, 1210 A.H. (1793 A.D.).
285. *Akhbar* of Lakhwaji at Raghogadha, dated 30th *Jumada II*, 41st *Julus*.
286. *Akhbar* of Lakhwaji at Purnala, dated 25th *Jumada II*, 41st *Julus*.
287. Schedules of rate of exchange at Balda Aurangabad, *Shawwal*, 4th *Julus* (Aurangzeb).
288. Corn-market prices, dated 13th *Shawwal*, 1189 A.H.
289. Market prices of Muhammadabad Bidar, dated 26th *Zul-qadah*, 1205 A.H.
290. Customs Code of Nawab Nizam Ali of Hyderabad, Deccan.

Maps.

291. Sketch map of Fort Arak (Aurangabad-Deccan).
292. Sketch map of Fort Udgir (Deccan).
293. Map of Balda Hyderabad (old).
294. Map of the Deccan, showing the battle-fields and the routes of the Imperial Forces (very old).

Gold and Silver Coins.

- 295-298. (i-iv). Four Gold Coins—full, half, quarter and one-eighth of an *Ashrafi* (one each).

From H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderabad—concl'd.*Gold and Silver Coins.*

- 299-302. (i-iv). Four Charminar Gold Coins—full, half, quarter and one-eighth of an *Ashrafi* (one each).
 303-6. (i-iv). Four Hali Sicca Silver Coins—full, half, quarter and one-eighth of a rupee (one each).
 307-10. (i-iv). Four Charminar Silver Coins—full, half, quarter and one-eighth of a rupee (one each).
 311-14. (i-iv). Four Charki Silver Coins—full, half, quarter and one-eighth of a rupee (one each).
 315-17. (i-iii). Three bronze and one nickel 1/12th, 1/6th, and $\frac{1}{2}$ anna bronze and one anna nickel piece.

Currency Notes.

318. One thousand-rupee note.
 319. One hundred-rupee note.
 320. One ten-rupee note.
 321. One five-rupee note
 322. One one-rupee note.

Postage Stamps.

323. (i-ix). Nine old postage stamps—three of half-anna, two of one anna, two of two annas, one of three annas and one of four annas.
 324. (i-viii). Eight current postage stamps—one each of $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 2, 4, 8, and 12 annas and one rupee.

From Mr Burhanuddin, Hyderabad, Deccan.*Paintings.*

325. Portrait of an Indian lady (Indo-Persian School) by Mir Ali, 11th century *Hijra* (17th century A.D.). Reverse: A page from a Persian book (*Shikasta-Nastaliq*).
 326. A study of Mughal School, showing the meeting of two *yogis* 17th century A.D. Reverse: *Naskh* script.
 327. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati on horse back (Mughal School), 17th century A.D. Reverse: two studies of calligraphy, one in *Nastaliq* by Mujiz-Qalam and the other in *Naskh* by Abdullah.
 328. Portrait of a Hindu lady worshipping (Mughal School), 17th century A.D. Reverse: a study of calligraphy in *Shafa*.

From Mr Burhanuddin, Hyderabad, Deccan—concl'd.

Paintings.

- 329. Seascape, showing European sailships (old Indian Marine paintings).
Reverse: specimen of *Nastaliq* calligraphy by Abdul Khaliq Jammi, 950 *Hijra*.
- 330. Cock-fighting: bearing the title of the cock-fighters of Prince Husain.
Reverse: two specimens of calligraphy, one in *Shikasta* and the other in *Nastaliq*.
- 331. An European monochrome by Mushfiq. Reverse: specimen of calligraphy in *Nastaliq*.
- 332. A Persian painting showing a Prince on a horseback and another mounting the same, 11th century A.D. Reverse: good specimen of *Nastaliq* calligraphy by Shah Mahmud.

From Maulavi Abdur Rahman, Hyderabad, Deccan.

- 333. *Arzdasht* from Hisamud-Daulah Bahadur Hashmat Jang.
- 334. Letter from Warren Hastings to Walajah.
- 335. Letter from Warren Hastings to Walajah.
- 336. Letter from Walajah to his son, dated 1189 *Hijra* (1775 A.D.).
- 337. Letter from Warren Hastings to Walajah, mentioning the acceptance of the 14th Section of a Treaty.
- 338. Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Walajah, deputing him to the services of a British Regiment.
- 339. Translation of an *Arzdasht* from the Governor of Chennappapattanam Fort to Walajah, regarding the dismissal of Amirul-Umara Bahadur from the *Qiladari* of Chinchavar. Dated 5th *Safar*, 1189 *Hijra* (7th April 1775 A.D.).
- 340. Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Walajah, placing at his disposal the services of a regiment, consisting of thirteen hundred soldiers, three hundred gunners, etc.
- 341. Letter from Warren Hastings to Walajah, expressing his satisfaction at the decision in the case of Gopamau.
- 342. Letter from Governor of Negapatam to Walajah.
- 343. Letter from Oonich addressed to Walajah, requesting the grant of an audience to the Governor.
- 344. Letter from Walajah, mentioning the organisation of his State.
- 345. Letter from Walajah, requesting the British Officer at Calcutta to make necessary arrangements for Muhammad Fazlullah, who intends to reach Gopamau *via* Bengal.

From Maulavi Abdur Rahaman, Hyderabad, Deccan—concl'd.

- 346. Letter from Walajah, regarding the supply of money and foodstuff from the income of his State to the Governor General of Bengal.
- 347. *Chonga* letters of the Nawab of Madras to Amirul-Umara.
- 348. *Chonga* letters of Amirul-Hind Walajah to his sons (1189 A.H. = 1775 A.D.).
- 349. *Farman* of Ali Adil Shah II, dated 4th *Ramazan* 1068 A.H. (1644 A.D.), about Sivaji's father.
- 350. *Farman* of Ali Adil Shah II, dated 1st *Rajab*, 1070 A.H. (1646 A.D.), about Sivaji.

From the Gwalior State.

Durbar Records.

- 351. A letter of Lord Lake, dated 1st November 1805, corresponding to *Shaban* 1220 A.H., regarding a letter of the Governor General to Daulat Rao Sindhia.
- 352. A letter from Mr (Aft. Lord) C.T. Metcalfe, dated 28th July 1814, regarding the appointment of Raja Kanwal Nain Bahadur as a *vakil*.
- 353. A letter from Mr Seton, Resident at Delhi, dated 3rd January 1810, regarding the appointment of Muhammad Mir Khan.
- 354. A *sanad* given by Qamaruddin Khan, Vazir, to Raoji Sindhia, regarding the village Chamar Gonda with an aggregate revenue of Rs 22,000. Dated 17th *Zul-qadah*, 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.).
- 355. A permit given by Qamaruddin Khan regarding the village Chamar Gonda and its revenue of Rs 22,000. Dated 11th *Rabi* I, 28 *Julus* (1746 A.D.).
- 356. A letter of instructions from Shahu Maharaj of the year 1659 A.D., regarding *Mauza* Chikoli.
- 357. A letter of instructions from Baji Rao Peshwa to Deoji Patel and Kanoji Patel, regarding Shahu Maharaj.
- 358. A letter of instructions from Balaji Baji Rao to Jankoji Sindhia, regarding the *Deshpande*-rights of nine villages in Tahsil Deogaon.
- 359. A letter of instructions from Balaji Peshwa to Jankoji Sindhia, regarding the *Mokasa* and *Sardeshmukhi*-rights of *Mauza* Baredi in Tahsil Deogaon.
- 360-6. Letters of instructions from Balaji Baji Rao to Jankoji Sindhia, regarding the *Mokasa* and *Sardeshmukhi*-rights of *Mauzas* (1) Chadgaon, (2) Takli, (3) Baburdi, (4) Belvandi, (5) Taju, (6) Sheogaon, (7) Takdari, all situated in Tahsil Deogarh.

From the Archaeological Department, Gwalior.

Paintings.

- 367. Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi.
Baz Bahadur and Rupmati.
- 368. Maharana Pratap of Udaipur.
Maharaja Amarsingh Rathor.
Takhat Singh.
- 369. Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia.
Maharaja Mahadaji Sindhia (two portraits).
Maharaja Jivaji Rao Sindhia (two portraits).
- 370. Worship of Goddess.
Baji Rao Peshwa.
- 371. Maharaja Jankoji Rao Sindhia.
Maharaja Jivaji Rao Sindhia.
Maharaja Mahadaji Sindhia.
A Maratha Sardar.
- 372. View of Gwalior Fort from North-west.
- 373. View of Gwalior Fort, taken by Major Popham in 1780.

Impressions of Inscriptions.

- 374. Impression of Mandasor Gupta inscription of Raja Narvarman of Malwa, dated Malwa, *Sambat* 461 (403-4 A.D.).
- 375. Impression of Tumain inscription of Kumara Gupta I, dated Gupta *Sambat* 116 (435-6 A.D.).
- 376. Impression of Udayagiri cave inscription of cave No 7 (5th century A.D.).
- 377. Impression of Mandasor Gupta inscription of Govind Gupta, dated Malwa, *Sambat* 524 (467-8 A.D.).
- 378. Impression of Bagh Cave copper-plate grant of King Subandhu (*circa* 6th century A.D.).
- 379. Two impressions of lintels found on the Gwalior Fort (9th century A.D.).
- 380. Impression of a fragmentary inscription from Bhilsa in praise of Bhailaswami (10th century A.D.).
- 381. Impression of a copper-plate of Malaya Varman, a Pratihara king, from Kuretha, dated V.S. 1277.
- 382. Impression of a copper-plate of Narvarman of Pratihara dynasty, from Kuretha, dated V.S. 1304.

From the Archaeological Department, Gwalior—concl'd.

Impressions of Inscriptions.

383. Impression of a Narwar Fort inscription, dated V.S. 1355 of Ganpati, a Jajapella King of Narwar.

From the State Museum, Gwalior.

384. A Persian steel head-piece (helmet) with four horns and steel chain inlaid with coloured portrait.
 385. A Persian shield having coloured portrait.
 386. A Persian steel glove having coloured portrait.
 387. A Persian steel Una (a weapon) with sheath.
 388. A gilt steel *So-sankatta*, a kind of sword.
 389. A broad sword with golden hilt and green sheath.
 390. A big *Katta*.
 391. A steel ace having silver heads of lion on the handle.
 392. An ornamented *Tabola*, a kind of lancet.
 393. A steel *Chuga*.
 394. A steel lion's claw.
 395. A goad.
 396. A pair of golden gloves having ornamental work.
 397. A portrait of Shiyai Khan.
 398. A portrait of the Peshwa on horseback.
 399. A portrait of Gangadhar Rao Maharaj of Jhansi.
 400. A portrait of Ahmad Shah Abdali.
 401. *Bhagabat Gita* written on palm leaves.

From Mr Madhava Das Desai, Gwalior.

Paintings.

402. The Taj at Agra.
 403. Darbar of Emperor Jahangir.
 404. Shah Jahan.
 405. Rustam.
 406. Empress Nur Jahan with a lady.
 407. Jahangir with two ladies.
 408. Baija Bai Sahiba Sindhia.

From Mr Madhava Das Desai, Gwalior—concl'd.

Manuscripts.

- 409. *Diwan-i-Hafiz.*
- 410. *Mina Bazar.*
- 411. *Jyotish-Kaláp-jataka.*
- 412. *Vriddha-Yavana-jataka.*

From Mr Vishnu Balwant Rakhe, Gwalior.

Manuscripts.

- 413. *The Gita.*
- 414. *Rukmani Swayambar.*
- 415. *Nandi Puran.*
- 416. Three manuscripts in Urdu.

Pictures.

- 417. Mihr Ali Shah.
- 418. Amarsingh Rathor.

From Mr Pyarelal Jagirdar Digwas, Didwanaoli, Lashkar, Gwalior.

- 419. Picture of Budhan Saheb.

From the Dhar State (Central India).

Inscriptions.

- 420. Paramara King Arjun Varma Deva's dramatic eulogy in Sanskrit, first two acts only, referring in the prologue to Bhoja Deva's crushing victory over Gangadeva. (1210-16 A.D.).
- 421. Two hundred Prakrit verses on the Tortoise Incarnation of Vishnu, the first half being by King Bhoja Deva (1010-55 A.D.), with his name and title.
- 422. A fragment of King Bhoja Deva's Prakrit poem styled *Kodanda*, with his name and title.
- 423. Ink impression of a grammatical 'serpentine table of the Sanskrit alphabet carved on a pillar in King Bhoja Deva's school at Dhar, with its transcript and explanation (12th century A.D.).
- 424. Ink impression of a grammatical serpentine table of Sanskrit verbal and inflectional terminations carved on a pillar in King Bhoja Deva's school at Dhar, with its transcript and explanation. (12th century A.D.).

From the Dhar State (Central India)—*contd.**Inscriptions.*

425. A small fragment of a Prakrit poem referring to the iron *lat* (pillar) commemorating the victory of King Bhoja Deva (*circa* 1019-20 A.D.).
426. A *Yantra* or magical figure containing mysterious Sanskrit syllabus used as a charm.

Photographs.

427. Photograph of the image of *Sarasvati*, Goddess of Learning (now in the British Museum), worshipped in the chief temple at Dhar, with an inscription on the pedestal giving among other details the name of King Bhoja Deva and the year *Sambat* 1091 (1034 A.D.).
428. Photograph of an image of Devi Parvati at Dhar, dated *Sambat* (1138 A.D.).
429. A view of a monumental iron pillar at Dhar erected by King Bhoja Deva (*circa* 1019-20 A.D.).

Photographs of ancient buildings in Mandu and Dhar.

430. Jami Masjid, Mandu.
431. Ashrafi Mahal (Khiliji Mausoleum), Mandu.
432. Jami Masjid (interior), Mandu.
433. Tomb of Hoshang Shah Ghori, Mandu.
434. Jami Masjid (Prayer Hall), Mandu.
435. Jahaz Mahal (North Wing), Mandu.
436. Jahaz Mahal (facing Munj tank), Mandu.
437. Rupmati Pavilions, Mandu.
438. Rupmati Pavilions, (North), Mandu.
439. Kalika Temple and Tank, Dhar.
440. Lat Masjid (interior), Dhar.
441. Photograph and copy of a Marathi autograph *sanad* of Peshwa Baji Rao I, granting Udaji Rao Pawar half of the *Mokasa* of Malwa and Gujarat as *Saranjam*, dated 3rd December 1722.
- 442-5. Photographs and copies of four Marathi letters of Peshwa Baji Rao I, addressed to Anand Rao Pawar I of Dhar, dated 20th and 21st January 1728 and 24th and 25th June 1734 respectively; the first two are autographs.

From the Dhar State (Central India)—concl'd.

Photographs of ancient buildings in Mandu and Dhar.

- 446-50. Photographs of five Persian letters of Peshwa Baji Rao I, addressed to the then *Subadar* of Malwa and Gujarat, authorising Udaji Rao Pawar to collect the Maratha dues. Dated 1726 A.D.
451. Photograph of a Persian letter of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj addressed to Nawab Sarbaland Khan, the then *Subadar* of Gujarat, concerning Udaji Rao Pawar who was sent with a force to punish the rebels in Gujarat. Dated 1726 A.D.

Historical literature.

452. The Paramars of Dhar and Malwa, by Captain C. E. Luard and K. K. Lele.
453. Mandu, the City of Joy, by G. Yawdani, M.A.
454. The Lady of the Lotus (Rupmati, the Queen of Mandu), by L. M. Crump, C.I.E.
455. Ancient History of Dhar, in Marathi, by S. K. Oka.
456. History of the Dhar State. Vol. I: Services of the Pawars of Dhar in the Maratha Empire, by K. K. Lele and S. K. Oka.
457. Date of Kali Das and Vikramaditya, in Hindi, by K. K. Lele and S. K. Oka.

From Sardar Bhikaji Rao Bhonsle, Dhar State (Central India).

458. A letter addressed to his mother by a Maratha Sardar named Rustamji from the battle-field of Panipat in 1761.
459. A collection of the Court Fee Stamps of the Bombay Government from the year 1864 to 1915.
460. Genealogical tree showing the *Suryya* and *Chandra* Dynasties of Kshatriyas from Adhi Narain to Pratap Singh, the last King of Satara.
461. *Adnapatra* from the Court of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Satara to his *Subadars*, in favour of Kheloji Raje Bhonsle, a member of the royal family of Satara.
462. Some Persian letters of the time of Emperors Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, and some Marathi letters of the time of Sivaji.

From the Jodhpur State.

463. A *farman* of Emperor Shah Alam conferring Raisina or New Delhi on Maharaja Bakht Singh of Jodhpur as a grant in perpetuity. Dated 7th August 1775.

From the Jodhpur State—concl'd.

464. Letter from Maharaja Siwai Jai Singh of Amber to Maharaja Abhey Singh of Marwar, calling upon the addressee, on behalf of the Mughal Emperor, to start immediately against Sarbaland Khan (Mubarizul-Mulk), *Subadar* of Ahmadabad. Dated *Kartik Sudi* 4, 1782 V.S. (29th October 1725).
- 465-71. Letters from Maharaja Abhey Singh of Marwar to his agent at the Court of Delhi giving accounts of his campaign against Sarbaland Khan and certain Maratha Chiefs:—
- (i) Dated *Kartik Badi* 2, 1787 V.S. (16th October 1730 A.D.), giving the details of the battle fought with Sarbaland Khan.
 - (ii) Dated *Kartik Sudi* 12, 1787 V. S. (10th November 1730 A.D.), describing the condition of the *Suba* of Ahmadabad and its districts under the Maratha usurpers.
 - (iii) Dated *Chaitra Sudi* 14, 1787 V. S. (10th April 1731 A.D.), recommending Baji Rao, Shahu and Chimnaji for their help given against Trimbak Dabhade, Piluji, Kanthaji, Anand Rao and others and complaining against the attitude of Nizamul-Mulk.
 - (iv) Dated *Chaitra Sudi* 11, 1788 V. S. (26th March 1732 A.D.), reporting the death of Piluji and his comrades.
 - (v) Dated *Baisakh Sudi* 13, 1788 V. S. (26th April 1732 A.D.), confirming the report of the death of Piluji and conveying news of the capture of the forts of Bhadar and Baroda.
 - (vi) Dated *Jyesth Badi* 2, 1788 V. S. (1st May 1732 A.D.), reporting the siege of the fort of Dabhoi and the capture of twenty-four fortresses.
 - (vii) Dated *Asadh Badi* 11, 1788 V. S. (23rd June 1732 A.D.), confirming the news of the capture of Baroda and the siege of the fort of Dabhoi where the Marathas were assembled and reporting the capture of Jambusar.

From Mr S. Ita'at Ali, Jaipur State.

472. A *parwana* issued in 1077 A.H. (1666 A.D.) in favour of Shaikh Abdul Baqi, *Mufti* of Akbarabad, increasing his daily allowance by Rs 2, the amount to be paid from the Agra Treasury. Bears the seal of 'Abid Khan, *Sadrus-Sudur*.
473. A *parwana* of the same tenor as Exhibit No. 472 issued under the seal of Jafar Khan.

From Mr S. Ita'at Ali, Jaipur State—concl'd.

474. A *parwana* issued under the seal of Hafiz Khan to Nawab Sa'adud-Din Khan, *Khan Saman*, for the mosque of Malika Zamani Begam known as Wakf Masjid Ali.
475. Copy of a *sanad*, dated 1183 A.H. (1769 A.D.) under the seal of Ghulam Husain *Mufti*, appointing Abdul Karim *Khatib* of Masjid Ali of Nawab Sa'adud Din Khan, *Khan Saman*.
476. A short history of Agra containing interesting historical essays written by the students of the Agra College in 1824 A.D.
477. An old seal bearing the name of the holy saint Khwaja Muinud-Din Chishti of Ajmer in the centre and that of his spiritual teacher on the border along with the names of other saints and preachers of Islam.
478. The *Sharh* or Key-Note to the *Qiranus-S'adain*, by Qazi Nurul-Haq of Delhi, written by Muhammad Karim Bakhsh *Sadrus-Sudur* in 1201 A.H. (1786 A.D.).
479. *Haft Khutut*, or Seven Letters of Jamshed, compiled by Muhammad Najmu'd-Din.
480. *Haft Qulzum* (Seven Seas), by Maulavi Kabul Muhammad, dated 1230 A.H.
481. *Futuhul-Ghaib*, by the famous saint Abdul Qadir Jilani. Transcribed 4th Shawwal 1276 A.H. in the city of Multan.

From the Mayurbhanj State (Orissa).

Seal.

482. A stone seal bearing a Brahmin inscription of the 1st or 2nd century A.D.

Copper-Plates.

483. A copper-plate of Natta Bhanja Deva, obtained from the Boad State, dated 8th century A.D.
- 484-5. Two copper-plates of Rana Bhanja Deva, collected from the Boad State, dated *circa* 9th century A.D.
486. A copper-plate of Vira-Narasinha Deva of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa, found in the village Arankhali near the eastern border of the Mayurbhanj State, dated 1303 A.D., relating to the grant to a number of Brahmins of a Sasan, which was near Basta, called Bonsoda in the copper-plate, a railway station on the Calcutta-Puri line of the Bengal Nagpur Railway.
487. A copper-plate grant of Subhakora Deva of the Kora dynasty.

From the Mayurbhanj State (Orissa)—*contd.*

Manuscripts.

488. *Vansanucharita*.—An account of the Mayurbhanj House during the Mughal and the Maratha periods.
489. Palm-leaf manuscript of *Rasalahari*.—An Oriya poem composed by Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja of Mayurbhanj (1727-50 A.D.).
490. Palm-leaf manuscript furnishing the Boundary Report of the Mayurbhanj State written in 1137 *Sal* (1731-32 A.D.).

Paintings.

491. A painting on palm-leaf.
492. Drawings in a palm-leaf manuscript of *Rasakallola*.

Coins.

493. Kushan Coins found at Bhanjakia, Mayurbhanj State:—
 (a) Coins of Kanishka. } 10 Coins.
 (b) Coins of Huvishka. }
494. Puri Kushan Coins found at Bhanjakia, Mayurbhanj State:—
 (a) Non-inscribed 1.
 (b) inscribed 1.
495. Ganga Coins of Orissa 5.
496. Gajapati Coins of Orissa 3.
497. Bahmani Coins 5.
498. Sultan of Delhi Coins 6.
499. A silver coin of Akbar found in a village near Khiching.
500. Coins of Shah Alam, found in Bamanghati.

Sanads.

501. A *sanad* granted by Raja Krishna Bhanja Deva. (Killed by Khan-i-Dauran at Jaleswar in November 1660.)
502. A *sanad* granted by Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva (1660-88 A.D.).
503. A *sanad* granted by Maharaja Sarvesvara Bhanja Deva (1688-1711). Dated 1100 *Sal* (1795 A.D.).
504. A *sanad* granted by Maharaja Vira Vikramaditya Bhanja Deva (1711-27). Dated 1712 A.D.
505. A *sanad* granted by Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja Deva, dated 1730 A.D.

From the Mayurbhanj State (Orissa)—concl'd.*Sanads.*

506. *Sanads* granted by Maharaja Chakradhart Bhanja Deva, dated 1758 A.D.
507. *Sanads* granted by Maharaja Damodara Bhanja Deva, dated 1791 A.D.
508. A *sanad* of Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva, dated 1813 A.D.
509. A *sanad* of Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja Deva, dated 1847 A.D.
510. A copper-plate *sanad* of Virakishor Deva of Khurda (1744-86).

From the Patna Museum.¹

511. Letter dated 19th May 1773, from the Sadar Diwani Adalat to J. Barton, Collector of Rajmahal, setting forth the procedure to be adopted in different courts. This was issued over the signatures of Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell and J. Graham.
512. Letter dated 10th May 1781, from the Governor General in Council, appointing Augustus Cleveland to the charge of the new court at Bhagalpur. Issued over the signature of Isaac Baugh, Secretary, Revenue Department.
513. Letter dated 21st July 1781, from the Sadar Diwani Adalat, announcing the deputation of Sir Elijah Impey to Murshidabad in order to hear civil appeals from the late Provincial Council. Issued over the signature of Elijah Impey.
514. *Farman* of the Emperor Jahangir confirming an earlier *farman* issued by Akbar in 982 A.H., in which 50 *bighas* of land in village Sohani, *Pargana* Amroha, *Sarkar* Sambhal, were granted to a pious lady for her maintenance. Jahangir's *farman* states that the grant will be enjoyed by her descendant, Musammat Gauhar-jan. On the top of the *farman* is the genealogy of the Emperor and on the back his seal and the seals of his officials. Dated 10 *Ilahi*, 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.).

From the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna.

515. The *Holy Quran*, transcribed by the celebrated calligrapher Yaqut-al-Mustasami who flourished during the time of the Abbaside Caliph Al-Mustasim-Billah and died in 698 A.H. (1298 A.D.)

¹ The following documents were presented to the Patna Museum by the late Rt Hon'ble Baron Sinha of Raipur, P.C., K.C.S.I., K.C., Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Dec. 1920—Nov. 1921.

From the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna—contd.

Each page of the manuscript represents the three distinctive kinds of the Arabic character, viz., *Suls*, *Raihan* and *Naskh*. The copy is dated 668 A.H.

516. A valuable copy of the *Quran*, complete in 30 folios, written by Abdul Baqi Haddad, a famous calligrapher of Herat.
517. The *Holy Quran*, with an interlinear Persian translation and a Persian commentary by Fathullah Shirazi (d. 1589 A.D.). Interleaved with sheets of blank vellum, and bound in painted and glazed cover of Kashmiri workmanship. Transcribed for the mother of Nawab Asafud-Daulah of Oudh.
518. *Shahinshah Namah*, containing a poetical account of the conquest of Bulgaria and transcribed for Sultan Muhammad of Turkey (1003-12 A. H.). The manuscript was preserved as a treasure in the Royal Library at Constantinople.
519. *Shah Namah*, the grand epic poem by Firdausi. This is the identical copy which was presented to the Emperor Shah Jahan by Ali Mardan Khan, Governor of Kabul and Kashmir, who died on 16th April 1657.
520. *Timur Namah*, a history of the Timurides from Timur to Akbar, composed during the time of the latter. This copy contains fine illustrations in the Indo-Persian style and bears an autograph note of the Emperor Shah Jahan.
521. *Diwan-i-Hafiz* or the lyrical poems of the celebrated Hafiz of Shiraz (d. 1388 A.D.). An extremely rare manuscript bearing numerous marginal notes in the handwritings of Emperors Humayun and Jahangir, who consulted the odes in the manner of an oracle. A fly-leaf at the end of the manuscript contains an autograph note by Sultan Husain Baiqara, King of Herat, as well as several seals and signatures of distinguished nobles of the Timuride courts.
522. *Diwan-i-Kamran* or the lyrical poems of Mirza Kamran, brother of the Emperor Humayun, written during the lifetime of the author and kept as an heirloom by the Mughal Emperors. Bears the autographs of Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan and numerous seals and signatures of distinguished nobles and courtiers of the Mughal Court.
523. *Kitabut Tasrif*, a work on general medicine by Khalf bin Abbas az Zahrawi, a celebrated physician and surgeon, who died in 404 A.H. (1003 A.D.). The present volume (10th *Maqalah*) deals with surgery. Neat pictures in colours of surgical instruments are drawn throughout.

From the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna—concl'd.

524. *Kitab-ul-Hashaish*, a vefy old and precious copy of the *Materia Medica* of Pedacius Dioscorides, the great ancient botanist of the town of Ayan Zarba, in Silesia, who flourished about the time of Nero. The work was translated into Arabic by Ibn Juljul. This copy is the revised version of Hunain, which was further revised and improved by Husain bin Ibrahim bin Jusain-at-Tabari. It once belonged to the hospital founded by Jalal-uddin Akhtasan Manuchihr Shitwan Shah, the great patron of the celebrated Khaqani. Written apparently in the 5th century A.H.
525. A beautiful and valuable copy of the *Matla-ul-Anwar*, transcribed by the famous calligrapher Mir Ali, in Bukhara, in the middle of *Shaban*, 947 A.H. for Sultan Abdul Aziz of Bukhara (1532-9 A.D.). It contains four paintings by Mahmud, the famous Persian painter of the early sixteenth century.

From Tikayat Sallendra Narayan Bhanj Deo of Kanika, Orissa.

526. Three copper plates in a ring, being a grant issued by Uddyota Kesari, son of Yayati II of Yayatinagara, Orissa, recently found in Balighari, Narsinghpur State, Central Provinces.

From Mr P. C. Manuk, Bar.-at-Law, Patna.

527. Paintings from *Hamza Namah*, being the earliest Mughal paintings of the reigns of Emperors Humayun and Akbar.

From Maulana Tamannaul-'Imadi, Phulwari, Patna.

528. *Maqamatul Hariri*, transcribed 827 A.H. (1423 A.D.).

From Sir Sultan Ahmad's family, Patna.¹

529. A *Farman* of the Emperor Shah Alam conferring the title of *Umdat-ul-Mulk Najmud-Daulah Bahadur Shaukat Jang* upon Muhammad Taqi Khan, dated 27th *Rabi* I, 46 *Julus* (1805 A.D.). Bears the Emperor's seal.
530. A letter addressed to Mir Abdullah, bearing on the envelope a seal of Muhammad Mahdi Quli Khan Mubarakud-Daulah Shaukat Jang, of Nawab Munirud-Daulah's family, with the date 1190 A.H. (1776 A.D.).

¹ These and the other exhibits belonging to public institutions and private collections in Bihar mentioned on pages 254—268 of this list were exhibited by Dr Azimuddin Ahmad, Ph.D., Dr S. C. Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Mr K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., and Mr H. Askari, M.A., of the Patna College Staff.

From the collection of the late Khan Bahadur Ali Muhammad Shad, Hajl Ganj, Patna City.

531. A Persian letter said to have been written by Lord Clive to Nawab Ismail Quli Khan.

From the Nasimud-Din Haidar family, Moghalpura, Patna City.

532. *Jahan Kusha or Tarikh-i-Nadiri or Nadir Namah*. Illuminated manuscript.
533. *Insha-i-Abul Fazl*: Collection of Abul Fazl's official letters by his nephew Abdus Samad.
534. *Diwan* of Saiyid Raza: A special feature of some of the poems is that each line in Persian is followed by a line in quite old Hindi (of interest to the historian of Hindi language). The copy was finished on the 27th *Ramazan*, 1098 A.H. (1687 A.D.). Incomplete.

From Khan Bahadur Ahsan Quli Khan, Bhikna Pahari, Patna.

535. Portrait of Mubarakud-Daulah Muhammad Mahdi Quli Khan Bahadur Shaukat Jang of Nawab Munirud-Daulah's family.
536. A bound volume containing Persian correspondence between several Governors General and Nawab Mahdi Quli Khan and certain *Parwanas*, with dates ranging from 1821 to 1862.
537. Three congratulatory letters from Lord Bentinck and other officials to Nawab Mahdi Quli Khan.
538. A packet containing 4 items:—(i) A short history of Munirud-Daulah's family, (ii) Letters from Munirud-Daulah to Lord Clive and others (printed), (iii) Correspondence with Government regarding the tomb of Munirud-Daulah and (iv) Beveridge's note on the family.

From Dr Saiyid Sajjad Husain, Mitanghat, Patna City.

539. A petition by Saiyid Ahsanullah forwarded with a *parwana* of Ismail Quli Khan, 'amil of Hajipur, and another *parwana* of Nawab Zainuddin Ahmad Khan Bahadur Haibat Jang to the King for confirmation of lands held by a previous grant. Bears the seal of Muhammad Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang and the date 5th *Julus* of Ahmad Shah (1752 A.D.).
540. A *farman* issued on the complaint of Saiyid Ahsanullah to the effect that illegal cesses should not be demanded by local officers from

From Dr Saiyid Sajjad Husain, Mitanghat, Patna City—concl'd.

him. Bears the same seal and date as in the previous exhibit, but the body of text bears the date 6th *Julus* of Ahmad Shah (1753 A.D.).

541. An English document confirming the rent-free grant mentioned in the two foregoing exhibits, issued by the Commissioner, Bihar and Benares, 13th April 1819, with dates of copy and a seal.

From Mr Saiyid Muftaba Husain Khan, Haji Ganj, Patna City.

542. A *farman* issued by the Emperor Alamgir II in favour of the relations of Muhammad Muinuddin Khan granting property worth over two lakhs of *dams* in *Pargana* Surajgarh, District Monghyr. Dated 5th year of Alamgir II (1758 A.D.). Bears the royal seal and *tughra* on 1167 A.H. (1753 A.D.); also other seals of offices through which the document passed, naming well-known officials with dates.
543. An order issued by Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk to the officers of *Pargana* Okhri, *Subah* Bihar, in the 5th year of the reign of Alamgir II (1758 A.D.), in favour of Durdana Begam and her descendants, giving them a share of the property left by Muhammad Muinuddin Khan.

From Rai Mathura Prashad, representative of the family of Maharaja Ram Narayan, Maharaj Ghat, Patna City.

Manuscripts.

544. Verses composed by Ram Narayan, bearing his signature.
545. Correspondence (English) regarding the continuance of the allowances of the daughter of Ram Narayan, dated 1807 A.D.
546. Representation (Persian) of Ram Narayan's daughter for the restoration of her father's property, dated 1807 A.D.
547. Declaration of Basant Ray, son-in-law of Ram Narayan, that he represents Ram Narayan and his brother Dhiraj Narayan's family. Dated 1214 *Fasli* (1809 A.D.).
548. Copy of the *Sanad* of a grant by Ram Narayan to Daim Ali Khan and others, of property worth more than 8 lakhs, bearing a seal dated 1174 A.H. (1757 A.D.).
549. *Sanad* of a grant by Saiyid Najabat Ali Khan (probably Governor of Tirhut) to Ram Narayan of Kanta-Piraoncha in *Pargana*

From Rai Mathura Prashad, representative of the family of Maharaja Ram Narayan, Maharaj Ghat, Patna City—*contd.*

Manuscripts.

- Barmal, *Sarkar Tirhut*, dated 1179 A.H. (1761 A.D.), the year Shah Alam came to Patna. Also a certified copy of the same dated 1244 A.H. (1828 A.D.).
550. A signed calligraphic sample by Lachhman Prashad, great grandson of Ram Narayan. Also seventeen other specimens of Persian calligraphy dating from the middle of the 18th century A.D.
551. *Makhzan-ul-Afghani*, by Ni'matullah, dedicated to Khan Jahan Lodi, giving Afghan history from the earliest times to 1021 A.H. (1613 A.D.).
552. A bound volume containing miscellaneous writings amongst which are directions to an office (of Ram Narayan or his immediate descendants) about forms of addresses to officers and notables of that time, some letters bear dates of issue as well.
553. A fragment containing apparently letters of Abul Fazl's father, Shaikh Mubarak.
554. A bound volume containing several items, *e.g.*, (i) *Dasturul-Insha*, by Munshi Bijai Ram of Lucknow, written or copied in 1206 A.H. (1790 A.D.) and (ii) Letters written by or addressed to historical personages on contemporary historical events, *e.g.*, to Ali Vardi about the suppression of the First Afghan rebellion in Bihar, to Shujau'd-Daulah from Mir Qasim, to Ram Narayan, Dhiraj Narayan, and others.
555. *Nigar Namah*, a collection of historical letters and documents, compiled by Munshi Lal Chand, at the instance of Ray Har Narayan for his son-in-law Lachhman Prashad, a descendant of Ram Narayan and finished during the time of Nasiruddin Haidar Badshah of Oudh. Transcribed 1249 A.H. (1833 A.D.).
556. *Gulshan-i-Ibrahim*, being the 2nd volume of *Tarikh-i-Firishta*.
557. A copy of Abul Fazl's copy of the *Farman*s issued by Abkar (Incomplete).

Paintings.

558. The well-known scene of elephant fight in Shah Jahan's presence and Aurangzeb's pluck.
559. A Hindu painting showing the Maratha influence in dress.
560. A Muslim nobleman with two ladies (one a Hindu), visiting a Hindu saint Gorakhnath seated amidst disciples (one man and two women).

**From Rai Brij Krishna, representative of Raja Khayali Ram's family,
Diwan Mahalla, Patna City.**

Manuscripts.

561. Illuminated Devanagari manuscript of the *Pancharatnam*, with illustrative paintings, this being an heirloom in possession of the family of Raja Khayali Ram, with a tradition that it was used by Sivaji at his daily prayers (*path*).
562. First volume of the original court copy, illuminated and illustrated, of the Persian translation of the *Mahabharata* by Abdul Qadir and others. This was completed in 995 A.H. (1578 A.D.). The first illustration shows Abul Fazl, who wrote the introduction, presenting the translation to the Emperor Akbar at his court.
563. A copy of *A'in-i-Akbari*, illuminated, written for Mian Ghulam Muhammad Jin in 1206 A.H. (1790 A.D.).

Paintings.

- 564-5. Two paintings of Christian subjects.
566. A packet containing the following paintings:—
- (i) A Mughal Youth, 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.).
 - (ii) A Mughal lady.
 - (iii) An Anglo-Indian picture.
 - (iv) A painting by Riza Abbasi.
567. A packet containing eleven portraits of the Mughal period including the pictures of Dara Shikoh, Ni'mat-ullah Khan and Bairam Khan.
568. A packet containing four mixed Mughal and Rajput paintings, including a portrait of the Emperor Jahangir.
569. Painting of a moon-lit scene of the Kangra School.
570. A temple scene supposed to be a *Vishnava* painting, with another picture on the reverse.
571. Portrait of a Hindu lady.

From Babu Kanhaiya Lal Saxena, representative of the family of Raja Khush-Hal Singh, Diwan Mahalla, Patna City.

572. A *Farman* of the Emperor Shah Alam, dated 1183 A.H. (1767 A.D.) issued by Najibud-Daulah. Bears the seals of Najibud-Daulah, Rupchand and Ahmad Ali Khan, officials of the state.

From Babu Rameshwar Prashad Saxena, Diwan Mahalla, Patna City.

573. *Sanad* of an *Altamgha* grant in Bihar conferred on Raja Kalyan Singh's family by Abul Mansur Safdar Jang Sipah Salar Vazir-ul-Mamalik. Bears the date 1181 A.H. (1767 A.D.): also Safdar Jang's seal, 1179 A.H. (1765 A.D.).
574. Manuscript copy of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, bearing a seal dated 1274 A.H. (1857 A.D.) but believed to be one of the four original copies prepared by Maharaja Kalyan Singh in 1812 A.D.
575. A bound volume of miscellaneous letters in Persian written by one Khushwaqt Ray to various contemporary personages including his maternal uncle Raja Suchit Ray and to Maharaja Shitab Ray, Maharaja Kalyan Singh and others. Incomplete and undated.

From Sah Radha Kishan, Banker, Patna City.

576. An illuminated and illustrated manuscript of *Badr-i-Munir*. Transcribed 1858 A.D. at Benares, by Pandit Sheo Parshad.
577. An illuminated and illustrated manuscript of the *Gita Govindam*, being an heirloom in the exhibitor's family.
578. One etching of an elephant by finger nails.
579. One sample of calligraphy by finger nails.
580. Two samples of calligraphy, one dated 1257 A.H. by Gangabishan Pandit and another by Muhammad Ibrahim.
581. An invitation card of the Governor General's Durbar, dated 1859 A.D.
582. Copies of three original documents (in another branch of the exhibitor's family) relating to the days of Mutiny and allotment of lands to the family after the annexation of Oudh (1856).
583. A *sanad* issued by Lord Auckland in 1840 A.D.

From Babu Chhotu Lal, Harmandil Lane, Patna City.

584. A bound volume containing amongst sundry fragments, portions of the Persian translations of the *Atharvaveda*, *Brahmanas*, *Upanishads* and *Gita*, by Muhammad Dara Shikoh. Transcribed in 1280 A.H. (1863 A.D.).
585. *Kitab-i-Abul Fazl* or Letters of Abul Fazl collected by his nephew, Abdus Samad. A good and complete copy, dated 1244 A.H. The scribe, Sitaram Pandit, has inserted a note saying that he copied the book from a very correct copy bearing the signature of Abdus Samad himself.

From Babu Chhotu Lall, Harmandil Lane, Patna City—concl'd.

586. A bound volume containing statistical accounts of Indian *Subahs* and of other countries, followed by an extract apparently from I'tisamu'd-Din's *Shagarf Namah*; this miscellaneous collection is entitled *Dasturul-Amal Mushtamil bar Dastur-i-Padshahan*, 1247 A.H. (1835 A.D.).
587. A bound volume containing, among other fragments, one entitled *Gulshan-i-Khirad* by Mirza Raja Shankar Nath, son of Mirza Raja Ram Nath Agarwal, inhabitant of Lauriya, written in the 4th year of Akbar II's accession, i.e., 1810 A.D.; another fragment is a pamphlet on music by Amir Khusrau, copied at Sahebgunj in 1225 A.H. (1809 A.D.).
588. *Diwan-i-Zaka*: poems written and compiled by Khushchand "Zaka". It contains selections from other poets including the Emperor Shah Alam, who wrote under the pen-name of Aftab, together with their short biographies. Written in Zaka's own hand in 1803 A.D.

From Babu Madhu Sudan Das, Naozar Ghat, Patna City.

589. An old portrait supposed to be of Tulsi Das.
590. Painting of a lady supposed to be Zebun-Nisa. Rajput School: on reverse a specimen of calligraphy.

From the collection of the late Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar of the Patna College.

591. A bound manuscript volume containing thirteen texts, or manuals, or notes, copied by a school student of District Sudharam (Noakhali, Bengal) in 1257-58 B.S. (1772-3 Saka era = 1850 A.D.), from similar earlier manuscripts said to have been written at various dates between 1728 and 1820 A.D.
592. *Annadamangal*, a poetical work in Bengali, by Bharat Chandra, court poet of Maharaja Krishna Chandra of Nadia. It exactly follows the original manuscript (dated 1752 A.D.) preserved at the Krishnagar Palace and was printed at the Sanskrit Press, Calcutta, 1769 A.D. It is one of the earliest printed books in India and was at one time used as a text book in the College of Fort William.
593. *Anecdotes of virtue and valour*, with Bengali translation on each opposite page, printed at the Serampore Press, 1829 A.D. and used as a text-book in the College of Fort William.

From Dr Azimud-Din Ahmad, Ph.D., Professor of Persian, Patna College.

Manuscripts.

594. A *farman* of the Emperor Aurangzeb granting a piece of land in Patna City to Shaikh Ghulam Muhammad, for the purpose of building a mosque and a *madrasah*. Bears the Emperor's seal and *ughra*. Dated 1081 A.H. (1670 A.D.).
595. A letter from Maharaja Shitab Ray to Mirza Ismail Beg, asking him not to occupy the land already granted to Diwan Shah Faqir. Dated 1183 A.H. (1769 A.D.).
596. Correspondence of Wajid Ali Shah with Nur Zaman Begam, his queen, dated 1275 A.H. (1858 A.D.); copied next year 1276 A.H. Illuminated.
597. Correspondence of Wajid Ali Shah with Nawab Arasta Banu Faridun Begam, 1272 to 1275 A.H., copied next year, 1276 A.H. (1859 A.D.).

Mica Matrices of Seals.

598. Nawab Asafud-Daulah of Oudh, 1190 A.H. (1774 A.D.).
599. Maharaja Shitab Ray, Naib Nazim of Bihar, 1183 A.H. (1767 A.D.).
600. Diwan-i-Khalsa-i-Sharifa, Subah Bengal, Bihar & Orissa, 1201 A.H. (1786 A.D.).
601. Combined seal matrix of (i) Court of Inspection of Jagir Documents of Subah Bihar, 1199 A.H. (1784 A.D.) and (ii) Chief Qazi, Mulla Shari'at Khan Wa'iz, 1187 A.H. (1773 A.D.).
602. Triple matrix of (i) Mir Muhammad Qasim Khan Bahadur, 1174 A.H. (1760 A.D.), (ii) Mir Muhammad Kazim Khan Bahadur, 1178 A.H. (1764 A.D.) and (iii) Qazi Fazl-i-Ali, 1177 A.H. (1763 A.D.).
603. Five seal matrices of *Qazis* and *Muftis*, viz., (i) Qazi Saiyid Sharf-i-Jahan, 1177 A.H. (1763 A.D.), (ii) Qazi Saiyid Anwar Ali, 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.), (iii) Qazi Ghulam Haidar, 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.), (iv) Mufti Shaikh Masih, 1202 A.H. (1787 A.D.) and (v) Mufti Saiyid Ahmad Ali, 1202 A.H. (1787 A.D.).
604. Royal Seal of Aurangzeb, 1080 A.H. (1669 A.D.).
605. Muhammad Ziya Khan, 1139 A.H. (1726 A.D.).

From Mr Abdul Majid, M.A., Lecturer, Persian Department, Patna College.

606. A manuscript copy, dated 1278 A.H. (1861 A.D.) of Wajid Ali Shah's representation sent to London soon after his deposition, prepared in Calcutta in 1273 A.H. (1856 A.D.).

From Dr A. P. B. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, Patna College.

607. Thirteen manuscript sheets in a file giving copies of judgments in Maithili, from Chainpur, District Bhagalpur. Dated 1712 *Saka* (1789 A.D.) and copied 1794 A.D.
608. A document in Nagri character, dated 1815 *Sambat* (1758 A.D.) mentioning Nawab Mir Jafar Ali Khan, Maharaja Ram Narayan and others.

From Mr K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer in History, Patna College.

Manuscripts.

609. Subhankara's primary school text-book on mathematics in fragments. Apparently dated 18th century A.D.
610. Subhankara's text-book on mathematics for higher classes, one section only. Apparently dated early 18th century A.D.
611. A book on astrology, in fragments.
612. *As'raya-nirnaya*, a religious tract of the *Sahajiya* cult (probably composed by Krishnadas). Transcribed 1197 B.S. (1780 A.D.).
- 613-14. *Smarana-darpana*, a religious tract of the *Vaishnava* sect, by Ramchandra Das. Two copies dated 1757 *Sakabda* (1834 A.D.) and 1258 B.S. (1849 A.D.) respectively.
615. A *Vaishnava* religious tract by Bhagavatacharyya. Transcribed 1258 B.S. (1849 A.D.).
- 616 (i-ii). A *Vaishnava* religious tract by Narottama Das. Transcribed 1237 B.S. (1828 A.D.). Also an incomplete and possibly older copy of the same.
617. *Chatki-Avatara*, beginning with a *Vaishnava* invocation, followed by a dialogue between a disciple named Banka and an instructor named Marsid (Murshid), on mystic philosophical topics, which show curious mixtures of different Indian creeds and philosophies with Islam. Apparently Murshid converts Banka into this new faith. Incomplete. Possibly belongs to the 17th or 18th century A.D.
618. *Hatvandana*, a *Vaishnava* allegorical tract by Rameshwar Das. Transcribed 1261 B.S. (1852 A.D.).
- 619 (i-ii). *Gurudakshina*, a legend about Krishna and Balaram's education and their paying the preceptor's fees composed by Sankara Brahman. Transcribed 1257 B.S. (1848 A.D.). Also a second copy of the same, in a different form and language. Transcribed 1267 B.S. (1858 A.D.).

From Mr K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer in History, Patna College—*concl'd.*

Manuscripts.

620. *Bhakti-Uddipana*, a *Vaishnava* religious tract by Narottama Das. Transcribed 1240 B.S. (1831 A.D.).

From Mr M. Mazhar Husain, 6th Year Class, Patna College.

621. *Farman* of the Emperor Aurangzeb granting 200 bighas of land in village Bazitpore to Musammat Bibi Zainab and her sons for their maintenance. Dated 31st *Julus* (1689 A.D.). Bears the royal seal and *tughra*.

From Mr Saiyid Abdur Rab, 2nd Year Class, Patna College.

622. A statement in Persian by the members of a family of Debimpur in Bihar setting forth their rights in the lands they cultivated. Bears the seals of *Muftis* and *Qazis* and other persons with dates ranging from 1116 to 1169 A.H. (1704-55 A.D.). On top is the name of the famous saint Shaikh Sharfu'd-Din Bihari.
623. A deed of lease in Persian bearing the seal of a *Qazi* dated 1252 A.H. (1836 A.D.), the document itself being dated 1273 A.H. (1857 A.D.).
624. A mortgage deed in Persian bearing date 1268 *Fasli* (1863 A.D.).

From the Madrasah-i-Sulaimania, Patna City.

625. *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* by Wazir Ali Ibrati of Patna; a history of British domination from their advent to the defeat of Sher Singh and conquest of Multan, written at the instance of Nawab Bahadur Saiyid Walayat Ali Khan, C.I.E. Transcribed 1272 A.H. (1855 A.D.).
626. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* by Sujan Ray compiled in 1107 A.H. (1695 A.D.). Transcribed by Shankar Lal in 1247 A.H. (1832 A.D.).
627. *Waqiat-i-Humayun* or *Tadbiratul Waqiat* by Janbaz, an officer of Humayun. Transcribed 1264 A.H. (1847 A.D.).
628. *Aurang Namah*, a history of Aurangzeb from his birth to the death of Shah Jahan in 1072 A.H., by Nawab 'Aqil Khan, *Subadar* of Shahjahanabad (Delhi). Transcribed 1197 A.H. (1781 A.D.).
629. *Tarikh-i-Subh-i-Sadiq*: a general history dealing with the Safavis of Persia, and the whole of Indian history from pre-muslim ages to the death of Shah Jahan's general Mahabat Khan in 1633 A.D. Incomplete and undated.

From the Madrasah-i-Sulaimania, Patna City—concl'd.

630. *Riyaz-ul-Afkar* by Wazir Ali Ibrati of Patna, compiled 1268 A.H. (1851 A.D.). Transcribed 1281 A.H. (1864 A.D.). This is a collection of letters of various times (with biographical notes about their writers) in possession of the compiler including one from the Emperor Akbar to his son Murad.
631. *Shah Namah-i-Bahadur Shah*. This is the title given on the fly leaf and the binding but it is a short history of Farrukh Siyar beginning abruptly with the appointment of Saiyid Husain Ali Khan for the suppression of Ajit Singh's rebellion and ending with the 6th year of Farrukh Siyar's reign. Transcribed 1297 A.H. (1888 A.D.). The author seems to have been a contemporary of Farrukh Siyar.

From the Al-Islah Library, Desna, Patna District.

Manuscripts.

632. *Siyarul Muta'akhirin*; transcribed 1818 A.D.
633. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* by Sujan Ray; transcribed 1831.
634. *Usul-un-Naghmat*: 'Principles of Music', compiled for Nawab Asafud-Daulah of Oudh by Shah Ghulam Riza. Transcribed 1829.
635. *Waqai-Nimat Khan Ali*. The volume contains another work on literature by the same author. Transcribed 1248 A.H. (1832 A.D.).

Printed books.

636. *Diwan-i-Akhtar*: Poems of Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh. Printed 1277 A.H. (1861 A.D.).
637. *Naju*: a book on musical art by Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh. Printed 1286 A.H. (1870 A.D.).

Photographs and Paintings.

638. Photograph of a *Farman* issued on behalf of the Emperor Akbar during his minority by Khan Khanan Muhammad Bairam Khan, in 970 A.H. (1562 A.D.).
639. A photograph of a page of the oldest extant illuminated copy of *Omar Khayyam*, dated 911 A.H. (1595 A.D.).
640. A bound volume of paintings of birds, etc.

From the Wakf Library of Diwan Nasir Ali of Kujhwa, District Saran.

641. *Alamgir Namah*, containing an account of Aurangzeb's reign from the 5th to the 10th year of his accession.

From the Wakf Library of Diwan Nasir Ali of Kujhwa, District Saran—contd.

642. *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha*, by Bhimsen Kayasth of Bundelkhand, compiled 1120 A.H. (1708 A.D.). This book is of great historical value regarding the Deccan affairs during the reign of Aurangzeb. Extremely rare.
643. *Ahwal-i-Alamgir*, by Musta'id Khan. This is an official history of Aurangzeb's reign based on charters. Bears a seal dated 1213 A.H. (1797 A.D.).
644. *Diwan-i-Humayun*. Illuminated and well-written.
645. *Tarikh-i-Wafat-i-Aurangzeb*, a detailed history beginning with the death of Aurangzeb and ending with the 6th year of Muhammad Shah's reign (1725 A.D.). The author claims to have been connected with Farrukh Siyar's court.
646. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*. Transcribed 1206 A.H. (1790 A.D.).
647. *Muntakhab-ul-Wuzara*, being select biographies of famous *Vazirs* in history by Qazi Ahmadul Husaini. Transcribed 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.). Bears the seals of I'timad Khan and 'Inayat Khan, nobles of Shah Jahan's court.
648. *Chahar Gulshan*, by Rai Chatarman, written in 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) Transcribed 1218 A.H. (1802 A.D.).
649. *Shagarf Namah-i-Vilayat*, by I'tisamud-Din of Nadia (Bengal). It contains an account of a voyage from Calcutta to London undertaken by the author in 1766 A.D. The manuscript is in the author's own hand and is dated 1219 A.H. (1803 A.D.).
650. *Kitab-i-Tawarikh-i-Akbari*; being identical with the 2nd part of vol. 1 of *Akbar Namah*.
651. *Timur Namah*. Bears a seal of the purchaser dated 1213 A.H. (1797 A.D.).
652. *Bayan-i-Waq'a'i*, being the *Memoirs of Khwaja Abdul Karim*, who accompanied Nadir Shah and travelled in India, Persia, Arabia and Ceylon, between 1151 and 1156 A.H. (1738-43 A.D.). It is bound together with an undated copy of *Tazkirat-ul-Ahwal*, by Muhammad Ali Hazin.
653. *Tazkiratul-Ahwal*, by Muhammad Ali Hazin; transcribed 1218 A.H. (1801 A.D.).
654. *Tazkira-i-Badshahan-i-Hind*, by Shah Abdul Haq of Delhi. Bears a seal dated 1213 A.H. (1797 A.D.).
655. *Nigaristan*, a book of comments on general history, by Muhammad Ahmad.

From the Wakf Library of Diwan Nasir Ali of Kujhwa, District Saran—concl'd.

656. *Tarikh Abdul Qadir Badauni* or *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, being a general history of India from the advent of the Muslims to the 40th year of Akbar's reign.
657. *Mirat-ul-Asrar*, by Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti, being a collection of biographies of Muslim saints from the early days of Islam to the author's lifetime. Compiled 1065 A.H. (1654 A.D.).
658. *Rahat-ul-Qulub*, being the discourses and teachings of Khwaja Faridud-Din Ganj-Shakar as taken down from his lips day by day by his disciple Nizamud-Din Aulia. Transcribed 1107 A.H. (1698 A.D.).
659. *Habibus-Siyar*, Vol. III; transcribed 1213 A.H. (1564 A.D.).
660. *Ma'asirul-Iqbal*, being a general history of Islam up to the 4th Caliph. Bears a seal, dated 1213 A.H. (1797 A.D.).
661. An old copy of several tracts bound together dealing with sufism. In the middle of the book appears the year 1081 A.H. (1672 A.D.).
662. A bound volume containing (i) *Ganjul Asrar* by Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti and (ii) *Anis-ul-Ghuraba* by Shaikh Nur Qutb Alam.
663. Catalogue of books and paintings and portraits belonging to or taken on loan by Diwan Nasir Ali in or about 1213 A.H. (1797 A.D.).
664. Fifteen samples of calligraphy.
665. Sixty-three designs of mosaic work on floor.
666. *Huzn-i-Akhtar*; printed poems of Wajid Ali Shah, the last king of Oudh and his biography. Incomplete.
667. Gladwin's *Persian Moonshee*, 2 vols. 1799 A.D.

From the Chandragarh Zamindar family.

668. A letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal addressed to the Commissioner of Patna, dated 20th July, 1858, in appreciation of the services rendered by the Zamindars of Chandragarh in repulsing 200 mutineers and re-occupying Akbarpur.
669. A certificate, dated 4th September, 1858, given by Capt. R. Rattray, Commandant, Bengal Police Battalion, to Babu Hit Narayan Singh, Lakshmi Narayan Singh, and Mahip Narayan Singh for their loyalty and fidelity to the British Government during the Indian Mutiny.
670. A certificate given by Lieut. Robert Doblin, Commander, Mountain Train Battery at the Fort of Rohtas in Akbarpur, to a member of the Chandragarh Zamindar family for rendering loyal services to the British Government during the Indian Mutiny.

From the Chandragarh Zamindar family—concl'd.

671. A certificate dated Dehri, 24th January 1858, given to Babus Hit Narayan Singh, Lakshmi Narayan Singh and Mahip Narayan Singh of Chandragarh by Lieut. Baker, Commandant, Bengal Military Police Battalion, for their rendering "the most willing assistance" to the latter, while he was commanding the Fort of Rhotas during the Indian Mutiny.
672. A certificate dated Sasaram, 27th December 1858, given to the Zamindars of Chandragarh, for their help against the Ramgarh mutineers.
673. A letter from Mr E. B. Baker, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Sasaram, to Babu Mahip Narayan Singh of Chandragarh, dated Sasaram, 4th June, 1858, in recognition of his valuable services to the British Government during the Indian Mutiny.
674. A letter from Mr A. N. Cole, Deputy Magistrate of Sasaram, to Babu Hit Narayan Singh, dated Sasaram, 20th January, 1859, in recognition of his services to the British Government in defending the Fort of Rhotas.
675. A permit given by Mr John William, Assistant Deputy Magistrate of Sasaram, dated Camp Nakha, 29th December, 1858, to Babu Mahip Narayan Singh of Chandragarh so that the latter might obtain possession of his arms provisionally and might pass unmolested between Patna and Sasaram.
676. A letter (bearing an eight-anna stamp) from Mr R. P. Jenkins, Commissioner of Patna, to the Collector of Shahabad, informing him that according to the orders of the Government of India passed in 1861 the heirs of Babu Mahip Narayan Singh had no claim to hold *jagir* rent-free.
677. A letter from an English official to Babu Dip Narayan Singh of Chandragarh, dated 25th December 1857, asking him to help the Zamindar of Akbarpur in Shahabad District in suppressing the rebels, Sarnam Singh and others.
678. A letter from Mr E. B. Baker, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Sasaram, dated Sasaram, 4th June, 1858, conveying thanks to Babu Dip Narayan for his valuable services to the English during the Indian Mutiny.
679. Eleven letters and documents in Persian of the same dates and nature as the foregoing exhibits.
680. A *sanad*, granted to Babu Lakshmi Narayan Singh of Chandragarh, by Lord Canning in 1859.

From Babu Shivratan Mitra, District Birbhum.

681. A manuscript copy of a Bengali ballad giving interesting details about the Santal rebellion of 1855, written by Krishnadas Ray, a Kayastha of village Kulkuri in *pargana* Nani in the Birbhum District in 1267 B.S. (1860 A.D.).
682. A manuscript copy of a Bengali ballad composed in 1230 B.S. (1823 A.D.), describing the great flood of the river Damodar in that year by Nafar Das of village Bahra in the Birbhum District.

From Mr H. S. Mitra, Deoghur, Santal Parganas.

683. A Bengali manuscript containing the history of the Maratha family at Karun in the Deoghur Sub-division. It gives some interesting details about the Santal rebellion of 1855.

From Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Lecturer in History, Government Arts College, and Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

684. One set of 3 copper-plates of Ammaraja Vijayaditya II of the Eastern Chalukya Dynasty.
685. One set of 3 copper-plates with ring of Trikalinga-dhipati Indravarma of the Eastern Ganga Dynasty.
686. One set of 3 copper-plates with ring and seal of Sri Devendravarma of the Eastern Ganga Dynasty.
687. Impression of one set of 3 copper-plates with ring and seal of Vijayaditya I of the Eastern Chalukya Dynasty.
688. A photograph of Sher Muhammad Khan of the Chicacole Sarkar.
689. A photograph showing the front gate of the Mosque of Rajahmundry, at the top of which is a Persian inscription mentioning Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.
690. A photograph showing excavations on the old fort of Rajahmundry.
691. A photo print of Sri Raja Kandregula Jogi Pantulu.
692. A palmyrah leaf manuscript of 25 leaves containing the history of the Padmanaiks.
693. A Persian *farman*.
694. A copy of a *sanad* in Persian granted by Mons. Bussy.
695. A Telugu manuscript receipt signed by John Andrews, dated 21st March 1759, acknowledging the payment of 500 pagodas made by Kandregula Jogi Pantulu under the orders of Col. Forde.
696. A manuscript *Cowle* (*Qaulnama*) granted by the Hon'ble Alexander Wynch, President and Governor of Fort St George to Kandregula

From Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Lecturer in History, Government Arts College, and Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry—concl'd.

Venkatrao, *Majmua-dar* and *Sarishtadar* of Rajahmundry Sarkar, dated 3rd May 1774.

697. A letter addressed to K. Venkatrao by the Governor and members of Council of Fort St George, dated 13th July 1773. Bears the seal of Government.
698. A *Cowle* (*Qaulnama*) granted by Edward Cotsford, Chief and Council of Masulipatam to K. Venkatrayulu, dated 17th November 1780.
699. A *Cowle* (*Qaulnama*) granted by the Hon'ble Josias DuPré, President and Governor, and Council of Fort St George, to Raja Sri Kandregula Srinivash Jaganatha Bahadur, *Majmua-dar* and *Sarish-tadar* of Rajahmundry Sarkar, dated 12th April 1771.
700. A *Cowle* (*Qaulnama*) granted by the Hon'ble Josias DuPré to *Majmua-dar* of Rajahmundry Sarkar, dated 20th October 1774.
701. A circular letter addressed to the *Zamindars* in the Rajahmundry Sarkar by John Whitehill, dated 24th October 1781.
702. A letter addressed to Raja K. Venkatrao under the seal of the Governor and Council of Fort St George, dated 11th February 1781.
703. A *Sanad* granted by the Right Hon'ble George Lord Macartney, Governor and Council of Fort St George, to Rajah Kandregula Jaganatha Rao Rameshwer Bahadur, dated 23rd February 1785.
704. A circular letter addressed to the *Zamindars* and *Mirasdars* in the Rajahmundry Sarkar by Charles Smith, dated 14th February 1781.

From Mr Datto Yaman Potdar, B.A., Professor of History, Sir Parashram Bhau College, Poona.

705. A Sanskrit gift-deed of Raja Sambhaji dated *Saka* 1602.
706. A judicial award by Madhavrao Pandit Pradhan or Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa, dated *Saka* 1704, about the Joshi dispute at Dhom (District Satara).
707. An autograph letter of Nana Farnavis, from Sironj, describing the disaster of Panipat (1761) and the fate of the Bhau.
- 708-11 (i). *Acharya Mahabhashya* (Vishwanath Mahanubhav).
 - (ii) *Lila-Charitra-Purvvardha*.
 - (iii) *Path Samudaya*.
 - (iv) *Vichar, Achar and Lakshana Bhashyas*.

These are Marathi manuscripts of the Mahanubhav Sect.

From Mr Datto Vaman Potdar, B.A., Professor of History, Sir Parashram Bhau College, Poona—concl'd.

712. Marathi translation of *Basatin-i-Salatin* written in Modi character.

713. An illustrated and very rare Persian manuscript dealing with the battle of Talikota, 1565. (There are various pictures of Husain Nizam Shah and Ramraja.)

From the "Sharadashram", Yeotmal.

(Through Mr Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B.)

Pre-Muhammadan Period.

714. Impression of a copper plate inscription in old Brahmi characters, not yet read but probably belonging to the 6th century A.D. This copper plate is at present with Mr Joshi, a pensioner, school master at Nasik (Bombay Presidency).

715. Impression of a stone inscription in the temple of the Sun God at Jayanand in Asafabad District in the Nizam's State. This inscription is in the Deonagari characters of the 9th century A.D., the language used being Sanskrit. It records the construction of the temple by Queen Padmawati of the family of the Chalukya Kings, as well as the deeds of Vijayaditya and Sinharaj of the later Chalukyas of Kalyani in the 8th and 9th centuries. There are 22 *slokas* in the inscription.

716. Impression of the first two lines of an impress inscription on stone in the temple of the Jain Goddess Padmawati on a hill at Warangal in the Nizam's State, dated the 10th century A.D. The inscription is in Telugu characters, the language used being Sanskrit.

717. Impression of an inscription in Sanskrit appearing on a wall at the temple of Bhawani at Barsi Takli in Berar, dated 1096 *Saka* (12th century A.D.). It records the names of Mallugi, father of Bhillama, and Hemadideva, his vassal.

718. Impression of an inscription on stone in the temple of Khandeshwar at Nandgaon in Berar. This inscription, which is in Marathi, belongs to the reign of Krishnadeo Yadao of Devgiri and mentions the *lakholi* to the deity by various persons. Dated 1177 *Saka*, i.e., 1255 A.D.

719. Impression of an inscription in the temple of Mahadeo at Winkeshwar in the Nizam's State. This inscription, which is in Marathi, belongs to the time of Ramdeo Rao Yadao of Devgiri and records the construction of a Mahadeo temple and also the grant of land at various villages in the vicinity. It mentions the name of one Hemad Pandit. Dated 1211 *Saka*, i.e., 1289 A.D.

From the "Sharadashram", Yeotmal—*contd.*

Muhammadan Period.

720. Copy of an Arabic-Persian inscription dated 1508 A.D. on the tombstone of a Muhammadan at Kalamb in Berar.
721. *Waslat* or a statement showing the income of the villages granted in *jagir* to one Qamarud-Din Khan during the Imad Shahi rule in Berar. Written in Modi character and dated 945 *Fasli* (1535 A.D.).
722. *Waslat* of six villages granted in *jagir* to Raja Pahar Singh under the Imad Shahi Kings of Ellichpur for maintaining an army. Dated 1538 A.D.
723. A *Dharampatra* or a deed of gift given in favour of a Thakur in 949 *Fasli* (1545 A.D.) during the rule of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar.
724. Copy of an inscription on stone dated 1590 A.D. found at Kalamb in Berar indicating the way to the villages Nachangaon and Deoli. The inscription is at present in the Nagpur Museum.
725. *Shasanpatra* or a written order dated 1654 A.D. by Raja Hanmant Rao of Supekar making certain grants to the Brahmins of Talegaon Dashasar in Berar.
726. *Tankhwah-bandi* or a statement showing the remunerations that were being paid to the *Deshmukh* of Darwha in Berar in 1671 A.D. in the reign of Aurangzeb.
727. Copy of a letter dated 1671 A.D. from the Court of Aurangzeb calling upon a brother who had become a Muhammadan, to give the due share to his Hindu brother out of their common patrimony.
728. A partition deed defining the respective shares in the common patrimony, worth more than a *lakh*, of two brothers, one of whom had turned Muhammadan in the reign of Aurangzeb and the other remained a Hindu. They came of the family of the Ranas of Udaipur and were at this time the *Deshmukhs* of Darwha in Berar. Dated 1673 A.D.
729. A statement in Modi character of the revenues of *pargana* Papal in Berar in the reign of Aurangzeb in 1090 *Fasli* (1679 A.D.).
730. A statement of the Revenues of *pargana* Darwha in Berar compiled in 1095 *Fasli* (1784 A.D.). It is written in Persian and covers about one hundred folios each of which bears a seal of Aurangzeb.
731. A judicial award in a case between two brothers over the *Joshi watan* (patrimony), dated 1685, the fifth year after the death of Sivaji.

From the "Sharadashram", Yeotmal—*contd.*

Muhammadian Period.

732. A *sanad* issued by Subadar Chinklich Khan in the 44th year of the reign of Aurangzeb (1702) to a Brahmin at Talegaon Dashasar, Berar. Bears autograph and seal of the Khan.
733. Impression of an inscription in Sanskrit on the pedestal of a Jain deity in a temple at Ritpur in Berar recording the fact that the idol was installed there in 1702 A.D., in the reign of Aurangzeb.
734. A *sanad* dated 1708 A.D. issued by Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj under his seal.
735. A partition deed of a *Deshmukhi watan* in *pargana* Darwha, Berar. Dated 1709 A.D.
736. A *sanad* issued by Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Satara in 1723 A.D. under his seal. It bears autograph of all his ministers including Bajirao I.
737. A *sanad* issued by Saiyid Jamal Khan in the reign of Muhammad Shah in 1723 to a Brahmin of Talegaon by name Sadawarti.
738. An *Abhayapatra* or a letter of assurance to the effect that the Brahmins of Talegaon Dashasar will not be molested by the army of Raja Kanhuji Bhonsla of Bhamb. Bears the Raja's autograph and refers to a period prior to 1731 A.D.
739. A *sanad* issued in the reign of Emperor Ahmad Shah in 1731. Bears the Emperor's seal.
740. A bond executed in 1734 containing the terms of some monetary transaction. It does not bear the signature of the executant but is stated to have been attested by some local deity, a form much in vogue in those days.
741. A private letter dated 1739 A.D. of a Rani of Darwha mentioning among other things that grain was very dear at that time, *juwar* selling at ten annas per maund.
742. A letter dated 1739 A.D. containing references to the battle of Udgir, the movements of the Nizam's army and the damage caused to the town of Karanga by the *Subahdar* of Ellichpur.
743. A *sanad* issued by Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk to the Qazi of Darwha in 1745 A.D. in the reign of Muhammad Shah.
744. Letter from Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao to Abaji Govind Gadre sanctioning the measure adopted by General Vithal Sheo Deo Vinchurkar for clearing the debts which were incurred to meet military expenditure. Dated 1755 A.D. Bears the Peshwa's autograph.

From the "Sharadashram", Yeotmal—*contd.**Muhammadan Period.*

745. Letter from Raja Januji Bhonsla of Nagpur to one Govind Nath Gosavi of Akot. Bears the Raja's autograph and seal. Dated 1761 A.D.
746. Letter from General Raja Sheoji Keshao stating that he had farmed out certain *parganas* in order to repay one *lakh* of Rupees which he had borrowed at 2 per cent. per month for army expenses. Dated 1761 A.D.
747. A *sanad* issued in 1761 A.D. by Asaf Jah Nizamal-Mulk. Bears the Emperor Shah Alam's seal.
748. Account sheets of a Mahratta contingent under General Vithal Sheo Deo. Some items refer to the expenses on the occasion of an attack by Raghunath Dada Saheb on a Mughal *Gaddi*.
749. Copy of letter from Takoji Rao Hulkar settling the dispute of the Mahanubhaos with the sect of the Gosavis in 1781.
750. A deed of partition of a *Joshi watan*, dated 1795.
751. *Kharita* from Peshwa Siwai Madho Rao to Nawab Nizam Ali confirming a grant to the Deokate family. Bears a lac seal of the Peshwa. Dated 1796 A.D.
752. *Kharita* from Emperor Shah Alam to the Nizam confirming a grant to the Deokate family. Bears the seal of Daulat Rao Sindhia. Dated 1798 A.D.
753. *Kharita* from Baji Rao Raghunath, the last Peshwa, to the Nizam. Bears the Peshwa's seal. Dated 1800 A.D.
754. Copy of the renowned *bakhar* (chronicle) called *Holkaranchi Tharli*, being a defence of Mulhar Rao Hulkar for his leaving the battle-field of Panipat before the result of the battle was known. Dated 1800 A.D.
755. Copy of a proclamation over the signature of Capt. Sair saying that he had been appointed by the Nizam for managing the affairs of some districts in Berar. Dated 1819 A.D.
756. Letter from Raja Raghuji II making a certain grant in Nandgaon Khandeshwar in Berar. Bears the Raja's seal and autograph. Dated 1825 A.D.
757. Letter from a firm at Chanda to another at Karanja mentioning the movement of the armies of the Bhonsla and the British and discussing the possibilities of the campaign. Dated 1825 A.D.
758. Contemporary elegy written at the death of Raghuji III of Nagpur in 1853.

From the "Sharadashram", Yeotmal—*concl'd.*

Muhammadian Period.

759. A *bakhar* (chronicle) of the Bhonslas of Nagpur from 1627 to 1854 A.D.
760. Impression of the seals of the *Qazis* of *pargana* Darwha in Berar. They extend over a period of 300 years, dating from the times of the Imad Shahi Kings of Ellichpur. The collection was used to test the authenticity of contemporary documents.
761. Letter from the *vakil* of a Deokate Sardar to his chief describing the second marriage of the Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao, with a Deshastha girl. Dated 1760 A.D.
762. Letter from the *vakil* of a Deokate Sardar stating that Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao had issued orders for the mobilisation of his army at Ahmadnagar just before the battle of Panipat. Dated 1760 A.D.
763. A list of presents offered by a Deokate Sardar to the King, Queen and nobles of the Satara Darbar.

Hindu and Mughal Coins.

764. A gold coin of Chandragupta Vikramaditya II, dated 5th century A.D. Found in Damo District of the C. P. It bears the image of the king with a bow and arrow on one side and that of Lakshmi, Goddess of fortune, on the reverse.
- 765-9. Five Indo-Sassanian silver coins, which are popularly called as Gadhaiya, found in a village of the Yeotmal District of Berar. They have faces of several kings.
770. One silver coin of a Bahmani king.
- 771-81. Eleven silver coins of the Mughal Emperors dating 1228 to 1265 A.H.
782. One silver coin of Asaf Jah Nizamul Mulk, dated 1283 A.H.
783. One copper coin of Muhammadan period.

From Rai Bahadur Lala Paras Das, Honorary Magistrate and Government Treasurer, Delhi.

Paintings.

784. Maharani Jodha Bai.
785. Laila Majnun.
786. Jahangir and Nur Jahan.

From Rai Bahadur Lala Paras Das, Honorary Magistrate and Government Treasurer, Delhi—*contd.*

Paintings.

787. A fighting scene from the Shah Nama.
788. Durbar of Salim Shah.
789. Durbar of Maharaja Prithwi Raj.
790. Jahangir's marriage with Raja Man Singh's sister.
791. Mirza Dara Bakht, Nawab Zulfiqar Khan and Sufi Allah Yar Khan.
792. Mulraj Khatri, Akbar II, Ram Kishan, Mirza Babar, an envoy in the court of Akbar II, Begam Samru.
793. Momin Khan, poet (in his young age).
794. Ustad Hira (Shah Jahan's State Engineer and builder of the Fort and the Jami Masjid, Delhi).
795. Chand Bibi.
796. Real seal impressions of Mughal Emperors.
797. Maharaja Prithwi Raj attacked by a lion.
798. Hafiz, the mystic poet of Persia.
799. Mirza Jahangir.
800. Raja Ram Singh.
801. Nadir Shah.
802. Rani of Ballabharh (whose husband was hanged in the Mutiny).
803. A Persian reciting *wazifa*.
804. Badshah Alamgir II.
805. Emperor Muhammad Tughlaq.
806. Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi.
807. Storks on a river-side.
808. Jahandar Shah, Mughal Emperor of Delhi.
809. Zinat Mahal.
810. A *sufi* moved by the songs of birds.
811. Shirin Farhad.
812. Bakhshi Mahmud, Minister of Shah Alam.
813. Chief Muslim Saints of India.
814. Umar Khaiyam.
815. A battle scene between Shahabuddin Ghori and Rai Pithora.
816. Raja Ram Singh of Jaipur.

From Rai Bahadur Lala Paras Das, Honorary Magistrate and Government Treasurer, Delhi—*concl'd.*

Paintings.

817. Shah Jahan sitting in durbar on the Peacock Throne.
818. Durbar of Nadir Shah.
819. A Persian prince.
820. Akbar holding durbar with his *Nauratan* (Nine best courtiers).
821. A Sarai of Kabul.
822. Shah Jahan with his attendants.
823. Brother of Sardar Yaqub Khan Kabuli.
824. Diwan-i-Am in Delhi Fort.
825. A set of nine different famous buildings.
826. A set of seventeen different famous buildings.
827. A set of nine different famous buildings.
828. Prince Muazzam Shah, the eldest son of Aurangzeb.
829. Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Tughlaq.
830. Jahangir.
831. Durbar of Nizam Saqqa.
832. Bahadur Shah, the last king of Delhi, on the throne.
833. Bahadur Shah in exile.
834. Bahadur Shah in his death bed.
835. Nizam Saqqa saving the life of Humayun.
836. Saint Shah Madar coming on a lion's back and Saint Shah Mina receiving him on a miraculously moving platform.
837. Nawab Shujaud-Daulah in his young age.
838. Raja Dhudhu Pant.
839. Mr Currie, Resident of Delhi.
840. Dr Hamilton, physician of Farrukh Siyar.
841. Tipu Sultan.
842. Khawaja Muinud-Din of Ajmer.
843. Son of Begam Samru.

From Lala Manohar Lal, Jeweller, Chandni Chawk, Delhi.

Paintings.

844. Maharaja Prithwi Singh of Jaipur.
845. Gautam Buddha preaching sermon to his disciples.

From Lala Manohar Lal, Jeweller, Chandni Chawk, Delhi—*contd.*

Paintings.

846. Akbar the Great with a hawk in his hand.
847. Zinat Mahal, the favourite Begam of Bahadur Shah II, the last king of Delhi.
848. Wazir Jahan Begam, a lady of the Mughal Court.
849. Laila visiting Majnun in a wilderness.
850. Mulla Dopiya visiting Hindu sadhus.
851. Majnun on horseback.
852. Ladies on visit to a temple of *Shiva*.
853. Bin Badshahzadi playing *Bansanta Ragini*.
854. Bholi Bhatiaran (a famous female inn-keeper of Delhi.)
855. Miran Bai of Chitor.
856. Raja Teja Singh, Commander-in-Chief of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army.
857. Shirin Farhad.
858. Raja Sardar Deva Singh of the Punjab.
859. Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab.
860. Daughter of Farrukh Siyar.
861. Maharaja Siwai Pratap Singh of Jaipur.
862. Maharaja Sri Kishor Singh of Kotara.
863. Maharani Jodha Bai.
864. Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirza and Abbasi Khatun and Sultan Muhammad Mirza and Bapsa Khatun.
865. Samru Begam.
866. Sultan Umar Shaikh Mirza and Anwar Zamani Begam.
867. King Babar and Queen Hasina Khatun.
868. Sivaji Rao.
869. Rustam, the legendary warrior of Persia.
870. Emperor Aurangzeb.
871. Emperor Jahangir witnessing elephant fight.
872. Maharaja Basanta Singh of Rathor.
873. Raja Bisan Singh of Bundi.
874. Maharaja Pratap Singh of Patiala.
875. Begam Shah Abbasi Khatun of the Qutb dynasty.

From Lala Manohar Lal, Jeweller, Chandni Chawk, Delhi—concl'd.

Paintings.

- 876. Maharaja Surat Singh of Bikaner.
- 877. Court Scene of Indra of Hindu mythology.
- 878. Krishna Lila.
- 879. Sri Ram Chandra and Lakshman with Bishwamitra being worshipped by a Bhil woman.
- 880. Rustam of India.

From Pirji Abdur Razzaq, Delhi.

Paintings.

- 881. Nawab Abdur Rahman Khan of Jhajjar.
- 882. Imam Baqir, one of the descendants of 'Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad.
- 883. Saint Salim Chishti visited by Shaikh Abdun Nabi, Chief Judge of Akbar, and Princes Salim and Danial.
- 884. Durbar of Shah Jahan.
- 885. Daughter of Ali Adil Shah, King of Bijapur.
- 886. Emperor Jahangir.
- 887. Mr Fraser, Resident at Delhi during the reign of Akbar Shah II.
- 888. A battle scene from the manuscript copy of *Shah Nama*, written by Firdausi (Persian painting).
- 889. Zebun-Nisa, daughter of Aurangzeb.
- 890. Shah Jahan on horseback.
- 891. Dara Shikoh and his niece, Princess Zebun-Nisa.
- 892. Maharani Jodha Bai.
- 893. Mirza Kamran, brother of the Emperor Humayun.
- 894. Mulla Nurullah of Shustar.
- 895. Maharani Jodha Bai with Jahangir as a baby visiting Shaikh Salim Chishti in his convent at Fatehpur Sikri.
- 896. Mian Mir visited by a lady of some rank attended by maid servants with offerings.
- 897. A battle scene from the *Ramayan*.
- 898. Raja Prithwi Raj.
- 899. Nawab Khan Jahan Khan, Vazir of the Emperor Muhammad Shah.
- 900. Hatim Tai, the legendary philanthropist of Arabia.

From Mr. Zahirul Husain, Sadar Bazar, Delhi.

Manuscripts.

- 901-2. (i) *Makhzan-i-Asrar*, and (ii) *Khamsa*, by Nizami. Transcribed 1917 Hijri (1511 A.D.).
903. *Fathul Haramain*.
904. *Malfuzati Qadaria*, by Abdul Qadir of Gilan. Illuminated.
905. *Diwan-i-Ahli*. Illuminated.

